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TANJUG REPORTS TOP-LEVEL CEMA MEETING POSTPONED

LD192218 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1600 GMT 19 May 83

[Text] Prague, May 19 (TANJUG) -- Sources in Prague report that a top-level meeting of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance COMECON, envisaged for the end of this month or the beginning of the next, has been put off. The autumn, or even the beginning of the next year, are now mentioned as the earliest time for the meeting.

The meeting was to consider a thorough revision of the structure of the economic mechanisms of mutual cooperation. The agenda also envisaged debate on coordination of economic plans up to the year 1990 and some other questions whose principled solution is of crucial importance for overcoming specific difficulties in the member countries' economic cooperation.

Informed sources say that stands on some crucial issues could not be adjusted at the preparatory meeting held in Moscow at the end of the last month. They mention among these issues first and foremost the question of price for raw materials, the bulk of which is delivered by the Soviet Union. Some members are said to have opposed the current mechanisms of determining these prices, based on 5-year averages on the world market.

An exceptionally sharp controversy, too, is based on the question of product quality. Certain members appear no longer to be willing to buy poor-quality merchandise from other partners in the group. They would rather sell some of their products in the convertible currency area either to make breakthrough these as well or in an effort to reduce their trade deficits with individual countries. [sentence as received]

Sources here assess informally that the national interests of each member country have never been so prominent in the past as they are at this moment.

CORRECTION TO SRFY DAILY ON BLOC POLEMICS

The following correction should be made to the Belgrade POLITIKA article published in the 19 May Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT, page AA 1, entitled "SFRY Daily on Soviet, Polish, Romanian Polemics":

Paragraph three, last line should read: ...military assumption of power in December 1981 but after it. (correcting date)

LATE REPORT: CSSR DAILY ON CEMA POSTPONEMENT

AU201145 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 May 83 p 6

[Boris Latta article: "Specific Results Are the Best Reply to Ill-wishers; Why Such Great Interest in CEMA Among the Western Press?"; passages in uppercase published in boldface]

[Excerpts] THROUGHOUT CEMA'S ENTIRE EXISTENCE, THAT IS, SINCE 1949, BOURGEOIS CRITICS HAVE BEEN STRIVING TO DISCREDIT THE VERY IDEA OF SOCIALIST ECONOMIC INTEGRATION AND TO DISTORT THE SUBSTANCE OF PROCESSES WHICH ARE UNDERWAY IN THE COOPERATION OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. THEY SPARE NO EFFORT FOR ENGAGING IN VARIOUS SPECULATIONS ABOUT THE PROBLEMS EXISTING IN THESE COUNTRIES, PROBLEMS WHICH OBJECTIVELY CROP UP ON THE COMPLICATED PATH OF INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS. SOMETIMES THE "SPECIALISTS" SUCCEED IN TURNING HEADS, PARTICULARLY THE HEADS OF PEOPLE WHO LACK EVEN AN AVERAGE KNOWLEDGE OF THE SPHERE OF SOCIALIST INTEGRATION, SO THAT THEY SOMETIMES REALLY FIND IT DIFFICULT TO DETERMINE WHAT IS TRUTH, AND WHAT ARE LIES.

The latest campaign in the Western press has also been calculated to reach insufficiently-informed people. What is it all about? The mass media in the West are currently devoting increased attention to the topic "socialist integration."

As always, in this case, too, the reader is not told the objective truth; he learns nothing about the successes of the CEMA member countries. But he will most decidedly notice the well-arranged dramatic tone of reports saying that the countries rallied in the community are being shaken by conflicts. A few days ago, THE NEW YORK TIMES daily, for instance, carried a prominently placed juicy description of the "deep conflicts evoked by the prices for Soviet crude oil" and other problems. Such and similar mystifications have even led the author of the article to conclude that these problems are the real reason for the postponement of the economic summit conference of socialist countries. According to these "experts," CEMA is about to disintegrate.

Every person who objectively views what is happening around him must consider this and similar claims a fabrication, pure and simple. THE ENEMIES OF SOCIALISM ARE, IN FACT, PRESENTING THEIR WISHES AS REALITY, AS THEY HAVE BEEN DOING REPEATEDLY IN MODERN HISTORY. A GREAT MULTITUDE OF CONCRETE PROOFS EXISTS, PROOFS THAT SPEAK OF THE SUCCESSFUL DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND OF THE FULFILLMENT OF TASKS WITHIN THE CEMA FRAMEWORK. THE PROCESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL DIVISION OF LABOR AMONG THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES IS BEING CONSTANTLY PERFECTED. NOBODY CLAIMS THAT THERE ARE NO PROBLEMS, THAT EVERYTHING PROCEEDS SMOOTHLY. BUT DESPITE THIS, THE FRUITFUL, PLANNED WORK AMONG THE MEMBER COUNTRIES OF THE SOCIALIST ECONOMIC INTEGRATION CONTINUES, AND THE CAMPAIGN AROUND THE NONEXISTENT "PROBLEM OF CRUDE OIL PRICES" CAN IN NO WAY THREATEN IT. In this connection IGOR YEFIMOV, TASS press agency commentator in the USSR, recently wrote that the crude oil prices really have changed and that the accounts between the CEMA member countries are settled with proper regard to the crude oil prices in the world. However, the price creation system (once every 5 years), and the use of collective currency -- the transferable ruble -- instead of the dollar in payments, make it possible to alleviate the extreme fluctuations in world prices. The CEMA partners buy crude oil from the Soviet Union for far lower prices than those reigning on the world market. In 1981, for instance, they paid roughly 50 percent of the world price.

And speculations about a "postponement" of the summit economic conference, which is constantly in the center of attention of the sensation-mongering Western press -- these speculations have clay feet. The idea of convening a summit conference was supported by all socialist countries. CEMA's main planning document -- the Comprehensive Program of Socialist Economic Integration, which the CEMA member countries began to realize at the beginning of the seventies -- has been substantially accomplished. AT PRESENT IT IS NECESSARY TO ADOPT STRATEGIC DECISIONS ON ECONOMIC COOPERATION UP TO THE END OF THIS CENTURY. THIS IS NO EASY TASK. IT REQUIRES CAREFUL, SUFFICIENTLY LONG PREPARATION, WHICH IS BEING CARRIED OUT ACCORDING TO PLAN AND IS BEING DIRECTLY CONTROLLED BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE LEADING PARTIES IN THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES.

This is the reality about the date of the conference. The speculations of some Western journalists are motivated by an endeavor to find "rifts" in the socialist community at any price.

Despite the clear proof of the economic advance of the countries that are members of the socialist economic community, despite the viability of their cooperation, the bourgeois ideologists are not relaxing their efforts to depict the world socialist economy as a nonprospering community of individual national economies of CEMA member countries, which allegedly are artificially united in some kind of "formal community" in which the Soviet Union has the main word.

THE NONSENSICAL NATURE OF SUCH CLAIMS IS ATTESTED BY THE SHORTSIGHTEDNESS OF THE CAMPAIGN WE MENTIONED AT THE BEGINNING; BUT THE PRIMARY PROOF LIES IN OUR CONCRETE WORKING RESULTS. AND THIS IS THE BEST ANSWER TO THE VAIN ATTEMPTS OF OUR IDEOLOGICAL ENEMIES.

GDR DELEGATE ADDRESSES OPENING OF MBFR TALKS

LD192258 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1554 GMT 19 May 83

[Text] Vienna, 19 May (ADN) -- The 30th round of talks on a reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe began in Vienna on Thursday. At the start the head of the GDR delegation, Ambassador Andre Wieland, stressed that a realization of the Prague proposals of the Warsaw Pact states would lead immediately to military detente and to increased trust in central Europe. The current international situation makes it particularly urgent to achieve effective results as quickly as possible.

The GDR representative referred to the joint communique on the official visit of a GDR party and state delegation to the USSR of 7 May. It expresses both sides' conviction that the new proposals put forward together with the Peoples' Republic of Poland and the CSSR on 17 February of this year at the Vienna negotiations enabled the artificial barriers created by the NATO states to be overcome and these negotiations to be led out of their impasse.

The possibility for such a step, Ambassador Wieland emphasized, was given by the simplified approach proposed to the reduction problems. The absence of agreement about troop strengths of the Warsaw Pact and NATO in central Europe, according to this, need not be an obstacle to a practical first step for reducing Soviet and American troops in this area. According to the new proposal, the absence of agreement is also no obstacle to a much-needed agreement about more comprehensive reductions down to already agreed maximum strengths of 900,000 men each for the two military groupings.

The GDR representative emphasized socialist participant states' convication that only the political will is necessary for such a simplified approach, which would allow the reduction to begin as early as this year. For that reason the reaction of the West to this particular proposal is, for the socialist side, a yardstick showing whether the participating NATO states are still striving at all for mutually acceptable results.

PPR, CSSR, GDR MINORITY PARTIES ISSUE STATEMENT

LD172156 Warsaw PAP in English 1700 GMT 17 May 83

[By Anna Gembicka and Stanislaw Filipczak]

[Text] Warsaw, 17 May -- A joint statement on peace, security and disarmament was signed here today by Poland's Democratic Party (DP), the Czechoslovak Socialist Party and the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany (LDPD), newsmen were told at a press conference in the INTERPRESS centre here today.

The three parties appealed to all the humanitarian-minded people to spare no effort for saving and ensuring peace. "We address all political and social forces, all the people of goodwill who cherish the cause of peace and friendly cooperation among nations. We call on them to resolutely oppose all the dangerous attempts and assaults by the militarist forces hostile to detente and threatening our civilization," the appeal said.

The press conference was attended by Chairman of the DP Central Committee Professor Edward Kowalcyzk, Chairman of the LDPD and Vice-Chairman of the GDR's Council of State Manfred Gerlach, and Chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, Vice-Chairman of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Bohuslav Kocera.

Commenting on the document signed today, Chairman of the DP Central Committee Edward Kowalczyk said that its signatories the statement is an expression of joint, agreed and shared assessment of the international situation. "Our closely cooperating political parties also voiced in this statement the intentions by which members of our parties are guided in their political and social activity, and appealed to all the progressive people for cooperation in the persistent struggle for peace and disarmament," Professor Kowalczyk said.

"For the Democratic Party the statement signed today is one of the forms of implementing programmatic tasks of our party, but also a specific form of public commitment to further moves in favour of shaping conditions for peaceful coexistence of nations and states," he added.

"We are convinced that just at the present moment mankind is at a turning point in its history: Right now, due to threatening trends in the developments in the world, we are all taking a hard test of collective reason," Edward Kowalczyk said.

"The Democratic Party is of the opinion that lasting peace and security in the world cannot be built on the basis of multiplying stocks of weapons and the assumption of a strategic edge," Kowalczyk went on. "As one of the allied political parties which take part in exercising political authority in Poland, the Democratic Party acts in favour of such an implementation of the Polish foreign policy. We are doing our best to let peaceful aspirations of mankind find support in the humanist ideals of socialism and -- while building socialism -- to protect our people and fraternal peoples of the community of socialist states against growing threats," the DP chairman stated.

"Our aim is peace, and our actions in this direction are unchanging. We are open to cooperation with everyone. We emphasize, however, that Poland stands firmly on the grounds of our alliances," Professor Kowalczyk declared.

Chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party Bohuslav Kucera said the Madrid talks, which should be a continuation of the process initiated in Helsinki, encounter serious problems. 'We expect that the initiative of socialist countries will create conditions to let the meeting in Madrid end with signing documents which would make it possible to convene a conference on confidence building measures and disarmament in Europe.

"We also expect that negotiations started in Geneva today on medium-range missiles will produce feasible results based on the principles of equal security of sides. I think that the latest proposals by CPSU General Secretary Yuriy Andropov makes a very positive contribution to these negotiations. This contribution is both feasible and logically," Bohuulav Kucera stated.

He also voiced his conviction that the world forum on the struggle for peace and life and against nuclear war to be held in Prague in mid June will contribute to the implementation of preconceived goals.

Chairman of the LDPD Manfred Gerlach stated that the joint agreement signed today is a new confirmation of support for the peace policy pursued by socialist countries and for the struggle against the most aggressive circles of imperialism and is a new offer addressed to all peace-loving people.

In reply to questions on the DP's contribution to the shaping of Poland's foreign policy, Professor Kowalczyk underscored that while taking part in the process of stabilization in Poland, the DP also contributes to consolidating peace in Europe.

Another question pertained to the stand of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party and the LDPD on the PUWP actions to pull Poland out of the present crisis.

Bohuslav Kucera said that giving the PUWP advice would not contribute to making this process easier. "We are convinced that the PUWP is doing its best to promote the fundamental values of socialism. This is in the interest of not only Poland but also the whole socialist community. I think that the PUWP's basic aims in this respect gain full support of its allies," he added.

Manfred Gerlach stated that the most important thing which Europe needs is peace, security and stability. "Anybody who would try to violate the stability of socialist Poland, would threaten European security. There were such forces. Their plans were frustrated by patriotic forces in Poland. The GDR as well as the LDPD, fully supported and still supports this policy. This is in the interest of both Poland and ?(other) countries," he pointed out.

VISA REGULATIONS UNDERGO 'PARTIAL CHANGES'

AU181552 Sofia BTA in English 1442 GMT 18 May 83

["Partial Changes in the Visa-Free Regime" -- BTA headline]

[Excerpt] Sofia, May 18 (BTA) -- The visa-free regime in Bulgaria has not been cancelled but only partially changed, Mr Georgi Evtimov, chairman of the State Tourism Committee, emphasized today. At a press conference for press attaches and foreign journalists accredited in Sofia he dwelt on the trends of development of the economic tourism in Bulgaria and on the ample facilitations foreign tourists enjoy during their visits to this country.

Mr Evtimov stressed that already in 1967, a year proclaimed as a one of tourism by the United Nations, Bulgaria declared unilaterally a visa-free regime for the foreign tourists.

The visa-free regime was not applicable to persons arriving in Bulgaria officially, as businessmen, etc.

Unfortunately, some individual travellers have tried to abuse the visa-free regime with self-interested and criminal aims such as smuggling of goods, of drugs, bringing in pornographic literature etc. Not so rare also were the cases when persons travelling on business registered as tourists thus evading the formalities of visa issuing. Led by its desire to cut off such violations, the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria decided on making some partial changes in the visa regime. By doing this Bulgaria will make her contribution also to observing the international conventions in combating drug trafficking, a combat in which this country has scored indisputable successes.

In accordance with the decision on changes in the visa-free regime, effective as from May 1st, 1983, every foreign national willing to visit Bulgaria as a private tourist, is to file the respective application with the Bulgarian counsular departments abroad. The visas are issued within a minimum period of time in a matter of no more than seven days. Visas shall be issued at the Bulgarian frontier checkpoints only exceptionally. The foreign nationals who have arrived in this country with a transit visa, can apply for its extension or replacement by a tourist visa at the passport departments.

The changes in the visa-free regime are not applicable to citizens of the countries with which Bulgaria has concluded bilateral visa-free agreements (Bulgaria has contractual relations with 46 countries of which 23 with an absolutely visa-free regime and the rest 23 with partial facilitations). They are also irrelevant for tourist groups comprising 6 or more travellers and for families travelling with at least one child under 18, who have prepaid the tourist services and possess a voucher. (The latter facilitation is also valid in the cases when only one of the parents is travelling). Under the bilateral agreement between Bulgaria and Turkey the changes do not concern also the Turkish nationals crossing Bulgaria as transit passengers.

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES PDRY MILITARY DELEGATION

AU111007 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 11 May 83

[Text] Comrade Todor Zhivkov has received a delegation of the Armed Forces of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, led by Major General Salih Muslih Qasim, member of the Yemeni Socialist Party Central Committee and minister of defense. Army General Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of national defense, also attended the talks.

PZPR'S ALBIN SIWAK ENDS SOFIA VISIT 17 MAY

LD171848 Warsaw PAP in English 1432 GMT 17 May 83

[Excerpt] Sofia 17 May -- Member of the Political Bureau of the PUWP Central Committee Albin Siwak paid a visit to Sofia from 11 to 16 May at the invitation of the BCP Central Committee. He was received by the General Secretary of the BCP Central Committee and President of the Council of State Todor Zhivkov, had talks with Political Bureau member and Secretary of the BCP Central Committee Ognyan Doynov, and alternate Political Bureau member and Chairman of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions Petur Dyulgerov.

MEMORANDUM ON PLAN COORDINATION SIGNED WITH CSSR

AU192000 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 19 May 83

[Text] Stanish Bonev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Bulgarian State Planning Committee, and Svatopluk Potac, deputy premier of the CSSR Government and chairman of the CSSR State Planning Committee, have signed a memorandum in Varna on the meetings and talks between the leading officials of the central planning organs from both countries.

Important questions were discussed in connection with the decisions adopted at the meetings between Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Gustav Husak in December 1982 in Sofia.

The two chairmen approved a detailed program and schedule of activites for the working groups of the respective planning organs for the first stage of the plan coordination in the 1986-1990 period.

STANISHEV LEAVES FOR SWISS LABOR PARTY CONGRESS

AU191827 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 19 May 83

[Text] A BCP Central Committee delegation headed by Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, has left for Switzerland, where the delegation will attend the [word indistinct] congress of the Swiss Labor Party.

VRATSA OKRUG BCP FIRST SECRETARY LALOV REPLACED

AU181832 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 18 May 83

[Text] Comrade Georgi Atanasov attended a plenum of the Vratsa Okrug Party Committee which evaluated the implementation of the decisions adopted by the 12th BCP Congress. The plenum relieved Nano Lalov of the post of first secretary of the Vratsa Okrug BCP Committee, due to his transfer to another post.

Lazar Petrov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and formerly chairman of the Vratsa Okrug People's Council Executive Committee, has been elected first secretary.

REPORT ON CONGRESS' OPPOSITION TO REAGAN BUDGET

LD181837 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 18 May 83

[Text] Our New York correspondent Michal Stasz reports on the latest speech by U.S. President Ronald Reagan:

The press conference, which took place in the early hours, our time, today, was marked above all by the planned $200 billion deficit, and by the President's lack of willingness to compromise, especially on the issues of reducing military expenses and increasing taxes. Reagan demands that members of Congress should overcome differences between parties and become united. All he can witness at present is the fact that, with regard to the budget issue, congressmen really are becoming more united, regardless of their membership in the two bourgeois parties. Their unification momentum is triggered by their opposition to the President's economic and financial policy.

It has been shown that in some cases voting in Congress about financial issues has meant that those opposing Reagan's policy have even had enough votes to overcome the threat of the presidential veto, which Reagan has been brandishing ever more often.

It is not necessary to be an economic expert to see that the military budget, growing at the speed planned by the Reagan government, cannot produce anything except a catastrophic debt that already exceeds $1 trillion

Reagan, since the beginning of his period in office, has been behaving in the style of Louis XV, not caring what happens after the end of his term in office. This has also been shown by his hesitation (? in announcing) whether he will be a candidate for the presidency for the next period. The President's imperial style -- ignoring the needs of the American people, and, what is worse, dragging the world to the edge of military catastrophe -- is the sign that Reagan has achieved what he wants and cares for nothing else.

CHNOUPEK MEETS NIGERIANS DURING AFRICA TOUR

Meeting With Counterpart

LD191401 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 2200 GMT 18 May 83

[Text] Nigeria -- Czechoslovak Minister of Foreign Affairs Bohuslav Chnoupek, who arrived by air in Lagos for an official friendly visit, has met with Nigerian Minister of External Affairs Ishaya Audu. The two representatives assessed the international situation and exchanged views on the most important issues of world politics. They agreed that in the current aggravated international political atmosphere there is no more pressing task than averting the danger of nuclear war. Minister Chnoupek has also been received by Nigerian Vice President Alex Ekwueme.

Meeting With Shagari

LD192232 Prague CTK in English 2006 GMT 19 May 83

[Text] Abuja, [no date as received] -- President Alhaji Shehu Shagari of Nigeria received Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek, currently on an official friendly visit to Nigeria, in the newly built capital city of Abuja on Thursday.

Minister Chnoupek brought the president a message from Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak, voicing full satisfaction with the development of Czechoslovak-Nigerian relations and mutually advantageous cooperation in all spheres of common interest. The message highly appreciated Nigeria's foreign political activity in the Organization of African Unity and the Nonaligned Movement. It stressed that the most important task at this time is to avert the danger of nuclear war and to install peaceful coexistence of all states irrespective of their social system.

President Shagari appreciated Nigerian-Czechoslovak cooperation and spoke in favour of its promotion.

HUSAK, INDRA CONGRATULATE SFRY COUNTERPARTS

AU181229 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 May 83 p 1

[CTK report: "Congratulations to Yugoslavia"]

[Text] Prague, 16 May (CTK) -- CSSR President Gustav Husak has sent a congratulatory telegram to Mike Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, in connection with his election as president.

Alois Indra, Presidium member of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, has sent a congratulatory message to Vojo Srzentic, on his election as president of the SFRY Assembly.

MORE MATERIALS ON REGIONAL PARTY CONFERENCES

Bilak Denounces 'Stealing,' Consumerism

AU181153 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 May 83 pp 1, 2

["(SVO, SE)"-signed report on the session of the CPCZ's South Moravian Regional Conference, held in Brno 14-15 May]

[Excerpt] Comrade Vasil Bilak, head of the CPCZ Central Committee delegation, spoke in the discussion. He thanked the Communists and working people of the South Moravian Region for the good results achieved in the region in fulfilling the line of the 16th CPCZ Congress.

He concentrated his main attention on the three most important tasks facing the entire party: the everyday care for a higher quality and thrift of work carried out by each of us; the rearing of a consciously socialist man -- a true manager; and the endeavor to save world peace.

Comrade Bilak pointed out the significance of the management system, of the people in management work, and of the working people's broad initiative for utilizing the reserves in our economy. The party demands that cadres be not only professionally trained but unreservedly loyal to socialism, ideologically and morally mature, and capable of correctly reacting to critical suggestions, of establishing an atmosphere of exactingness, and of providing an example by specific acts both at work and in private life.

The achieved results could have been better still, he stressed, were it not for the tolerance extended to various disorders, to a lack of discipline, and to the waste of means, as well as to stealing. These are malfeasances which the working people, as the true managers of our country, must not tolerate.

A resolute fight must be waged against these antisocialist and antisocial phenomena on all levels. We must overcome the bad habit of noticing what is happening far away, while being blind to robbery under our noses.

We must not permit a new petty bourgeoisie to grow up in our country, one which regards a consumer way of life as the culmination of all its endeavors.

Comrade Bilak then stated that we are resolving the complicated and exacting tasks at home at a time when the international situation has become the most dangerous since the end of World War II.

Citing numerous examples, he counterposed the Soviet Union's peace-loving policy with the destructive U.S. policy. The United States is creating or reviving hotbeds of war on all continents, including Europe, and pushing the world to the edge of a catastrophe. He pointed out that the deployment of new American intermediate range missiles in Western Europe would threaten the world with unimaginable dangers.

It is therefore necessary to mobilize even today the people of all countries for a fight against war criminals, to isolate them and condemn these criminals while there is still time to do so, because after a third world war, which is being prepared by the United States, there would be neither judges nor prosecutors, and there would be nobody to judge.

Our people are justly proud of their socialist fatherland and of our achievements, Comrade Bilak said. We are proud to be marching in the front ranks of the broad front of progressive forces. Together with the Soviet Union, the most loyal ally, and together with the peoples of the other socialist countries and all progressive forces, we will resolutely defend the peoples' inalienable right to life and to peace. For this reason, we, as the host country, will do everything to enable the full success of the approaching World Assembly For Peace and Life and Against Nuclear War.

In conclusion, Comrade Bilak recalled that problems will be cropping up also in the future, both at home and abroad. But it is only the fainthearted who retreat before them and who succumb to skepticism. We can progress further only through honest and tenacious work, by strictly adhering to party, civic, and state discipline. And this struggle must be headed above all by Communists.

Haman on 'Weak' Enterprises

LD160230 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 15 May 83

[Text] Today's discussion at the regional conferences of the CPCZ and the CPSL and at the city party conferences in Prague and Bratislava has once again documented the high degree of responsibility of Communists for the further development of the advanced socialist society in our country. The characteristic feature of the speeches of delegates was a matter-of-fact and critical look at the results achieved in the realization of the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress and the resolve of party members and candidate members, together with other working people, to fulfill the tasks contained in the current 5-year plan and to devote all their strength to preserve peace in the world. In many speeches in the debate, delegates reacted to ideas contained in yesterday's speech by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, at the city party conference in Prague.

Among those who spoke in the debate at the regional party conference in Plzen was Josef Haman, the head of a delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee and candidate member of its Presidium.

After paying tribute to the results achieved by the Communists and working people of the West Bohemian Region, Comrade Haman noted the inseparable unity of the struggle for peace with the strengthening and development of our socialist society. He spoke about the tasks awaiting us in the field of improving the quality of all sectors of the national economy, and went on:

[Begin Haman recording] The turn toward intensiveness and effectiveness in the development of the national economy, which we are striving to bring about, is not a mere production and technological issue but a highly political, social, and ideological question. At the same time, no ready-made formulas exist as yet to resolve all the tasks entailed in the intensification processes. We have to work toward them patiently, on scientific foundations and without subjectivism, seek new realistic ways, generalize findings acquired, and draw on experiences, especially from the socialist countries. This is a longterm task, but the pace with which it is tackled must be speeded up substantially.

Of course, this all means higher demands on knowledge and the degree of expertise, above all of leading officials. This is why it is necessary to be more courageous in elevating into leading posts workers who are dedicated to the party and to socialism and who are at the same time talented and technically sound.

The pushing through of the processes of intensification will also entail struggle against ingrained practices and routine, and -- let us not be afriad to say so -- often against the practice of seeking the path of least resistance. A harsh wind is blowing throughout the entire world economy today, and no one in our country can imagine that he will be able to preserve for himself a warm, cozy corner to shelter against such a wind.

The ramifications of the more demanding world conditions will have to be projected to an increasing degree into the conditions of the activity of our enterprises. They must keep abreast with the world at large by improving their performance. It is also, for instance, no longer possible for enterprises showing weak results to live forever on the back of enterprises that are good and effective.

Throughout the economy we must strengthen the Khozraschot principles of financial autonomy and therefore restrict economically unjustifiable redistribution of means. In addition to their responsibility for the technical standard and quality of production, enterprises must also have the appropriate means to modernize their production and technology -- within the framework of the plan, of course.

It is necessary to bite the sour apple of egalitarianism, which, counter to socialist principles, impedes the growth of labor productivity in a number of collectives. On many occasions we have found that we shall only be able to master tasks, however demanding they may be, if we succeed in drawing the broadest groups of the working people into tackling them within individual working collectives. True, this calls for a greater effort; it is necessary to talk to people and explain to them things which may not be clear to them. Nonetheless, this is the most effective course forward.

All analyses and findings justify us in drawing the conclusion that in the resources and possibilities of our national economy and in our cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community there exist the realistic prerequisites for successfully fulfilling the tasks set out by the 16th Congress to secure the further development of the economy, ensure the living standards and social guarantees of the people, and acquit ourselves successfully in competition with the rest of the world.

It is often and justly said that our production makes excessive demands on fuel, energy, raw materials, transport, investment, and the like. We are not so much being restricted by the [word indistinct] extent of resources, which is very considerable, as by the problem of using these resources effectively. We do not as yet know everywhere how to utilize appropriately the resources our economy has at its disposal and how to get the best value out of them. We even waste them in some places. There are more than enough examples, in the form of unfinished construction projects, stocks, and the like. The fundamental thing now is to be able to make active use of such reserves through better management, application of scientific and technological development, and application of the initiative and knowledge of people as a factor of further development. [end recording]

Hoffman on Managers' Role

LD151209 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0800 GMT 15 May 83

[Text] The conferences of the regional, Prague, and Bratislava City party organizations are continuing their 2-day meetings today with debates. Today's meetings are being attended by delegations of the CPCZ Central Committee. The delegation leaders have already spoken in the debates.

Comrade Karel Hoffmann, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, speaking at the Central Bohemian Communists' session, praised the creative efforts of Communists directed at implementing party policy during this exceptional and important period. He emphasized the need for consistent development of the process of intensification of the national economy, and went on to say:

[Begin Hoffmann recording] If we concern ourselves in a concentrated way with the implementation of economic tasks, then let us concern ourselves primarily with people, with work collectives -- that is to say, with the actual workers, through whose work and through whose potential lies the key to the solution of the main problems and difficulties which we are encountering. It has been stressed many times by the party that we must ask much more of managers than we have done to date, for upon them depends how the work is organized, what conditions are created, and in what direction initiative is channeled. Managers are primarily responsible for the good and enterprising displays of working people's initiative that are elicited and achieved. It is they who bear responsibility for ensuring that the working people's enthusiasm and determination are not wasted, that they serve not only to overcome the negative results of their management shortcomings, of their labor organization and of planning, but manifest themselves in the form of exceeding the plan in desirable, socially-beneficial directions.

The working people's activity and initiative, their suggestions and proposals, and the influence of competing collectives must show themselves, above all, in increased efficiency, improved quality, and frugality in the economic results realized. That is why, hand in hand with the development of working initiative and especially with its most effective forms, we are bound to devote our constant attention also to the implementation of workers' participation in management, and especially in areas such as production meetings, discussion of plans, and counterplanning.

We are glad that at this regional conference, we can, as shown in the report by the regional committee, demonstrate the striking results achieved in counterplanning by the workers of many enterprises of this region. Their experience can serve as a good example, not only in other plants of the region but throughout the republic, as can some of the good findings from production meetings.

If we talk about the development of worker initiative and socialist competition, it is right that we should mention not only the good -- and in many respects remarkable -- results of the working people of the Central Bohemian region, but also the fact that it is from here, your region, from the valleys of the sugar-beet, that 25 years ago the stimulus for the birth of the socialist labor brigade movement emerged. Today we can state that this movement has caught on, developed, and evoked a spontaneous response throughout the republic.

With hindsight, the socialist labor brigade movement's genuinely revolutionary importance for the development of socialist competition has become clear. It has become a movement which is indivisibly linked with the entire history of the construction construction of a developed socialist society. Socialist labor brigades became a reliable and effective embodiment of the working people's support for the new party leadership following the April and May session of the Central Committee in 1969, and they have made a substantial contribution to fulfilling the tasks of the fifth and sixth 5-year plans. And today they are in the vanguard of the effort to fulfill the plan, to surmount the problems and difficulties of the Czechoslovak economy.

In view of the mass character of this movement that has been built up, the urgent task of raising the level of this movement, too, is the order of the day, along with concentrating efforts on solving the tasks and problems of achieving greater efficiency of production and quality of products, on consolidating order and discipline at workplaces, on lowering production consumption, and on the optimum utilization of raw and secondary materials. [end recording]

BRIEFS

TELEVISION COOPERATION WITH ROMANIA -- Jan Zelenka, central director of Czechoslovak television, and his Romanian counterpart, Ilie Radulescu, signed a protocol today in Bucharest on cooperation in the exchange of programs for the period 1983-1984. The agreement also provides for Czechoslovak-Romanian coproduction of programs. [Text] [Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1830 GMT 19 May 83 LD]

KRENZ, KOMSOMOL OFFICIALS AT PEACE DEMONSTRATION

LD200751 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1933 GMT 19 May 83

[Text] Berlin, 19 May (ADN) -- Hundreds of thousands of girls and boys attended powerful peace rallies on Thursday on the occasion of the GDR youth Whitsun meeting. In 11 bezirke and in Berlin they welcomed the deputies from fraternal organizations of the FDJ, the WFDY, and the International Union of Students [IUS]. Many rallies were attended by the first secretaries of SED bezirke executive committees. At meetings, marches from various areas, and wreath-laying ceremonies the young GDR generation affirmed its firm resolve to do everything for a strong socialism and to create peace against the NATO weapons.

Thus, thousands of Berlin youngsters said at the Schlossinsel in Koepenick City District (Stadt Bezirk) that the imperialist war plans must be frustrated. In the presence of Sergey Ratshkov, member of the Leninist Komsomol delegation and first secretary of the Leningrad Raykom in Moscow, they said at their peace manifestation that they will strengthen and reliably protect the socialist achievements. The peace manifestations in the bezirke were attended by deputations of youth organizations from Angola, Ethiopia, Bulgaria, the CSSR, Kampuchea, Cuba, Laos, Mozambique, Mongolia, Poland, the USSR, Hungary, the PDRY, and Vietnam. Egon Krenz, first secretary of the FDJ Central Council and candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo; Viktor Mishin, first secretary of the Leninist Komsomol Central Committee; WFDY President Walid Masri and IUS Vice President Bakr Abdul Munem [spelling as received] were among the guests.

Over 700,000 youngsters attended the peace rallies in Berlin and the bezirke.

HONECKER VISITS SOVIET MILITARY GROUP 19 MAY

Troop Inspection

LD191151 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0900 GMT 19 May 83

[Text] Magdeburg, 19 May (ADN) -- Erich Honecker today visited the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany. The visit began in the morning at a training center. Army General Mikhail Zaytsev and Colonel General Aleksey Lizichev, who invited Erich Honecker, as well as other generals, received the SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman and the members of the party and state leadership accompanying him.

The guests were welcomed with military honors. After the national anthems of the two countries had been played, Erich Honecker, accompanied by Army Gen Zaytsev, inspected the guard of honor. He saluted the legendary colors which flew in front of the regiment of guards at the defense of Moscow and Stalingrad in the Great Patriotic War and in the storming of Berlin.

Then the guests inspected the modern arms, combat technology, and equipment of the Group of Soviet Forces. In accordance with the competition slogan, "Increase alertness, guarantee the security of the homeland reliably," the members of the Group of Soviet Forces are fulfilling an important task in heightening the combat readiness of the Soviet forces, in strengthening the defense capability of the USSR, and in the realiable protection of socialism.

Further Details

LD191532 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1200 GMT 19 May 83

[Text] Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, has visited members of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany since this morning. At a training center the senior guest was cordially welcomed by the commander in chief, Army General Mikhail Zaytsev. In an equally cordial manner he welcomed the chairman of the Council of Ministers, Willi Stoph; People's Chamber President Horst Sindermann; as well as other members of the party and state leadership. They are accompanied by Defense Minister Army General Heinz Hoffmann and other high-ranking military personnel of the National People's Army.

After the welcoming ceremony, the guests inspected modern combat technology and equipment of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany. During the inspection, they were able to see for themselves that the members of the Soviet Army have all the necessary means at their disposal to repulse any imperialist aggression in time and decisively.

The GDR representatives then watched a guards regiment in action during a tactical exercise with weapons firing. Artillery, antitank missiles, fighter bombers and combat helicopters took part in the action. On the observation stand Erich Honecker and the other members of the party and state leadership were able to see the precise way in which the different troops units coordinated their actions.

Zaytsev Speech, Toast

LD192033 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1525 GMT 19 May 83

["Speech by Army General Zaytsev at Meeting in Magdeburg" -- ADN headline]

[Text] Magdeburg, 19 May (ADN) -- At a militant meeting in Magdeburg on Thursday, Army General Zaytsev, commander in chief of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany, greeted the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, Erich Honecker, and other leading figures in the GDR. Army General Zaytsev said:

We are genuinely pleased to be able to welcome you and other leading personalities of the party and government of the fraternal GDR today in one of the best units of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany.

Every meeting with you, dear Comrade Honecker, with the leading officials of the party and state, and with the workers and members of the GDR National People's Army is convincing proof of the growing friendship and fraternal cooperation between the Soviet Union and the GDR and of the strengthening brotherhood-in-arms of our armies.

Our unshakable friendship was demonstrated in an especially impressive way during your latest visit to the Soviet Union. Every one of us is deeply satisfied with the results of this visit. We learned with great joy of the award given to you, the highest order of our homeland -- the Order of Lenin and the Golden Star Medal of the Hero of the Soviet Union.

The members of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany are proud that you were entrusted with the honorable duty of protecting the furthest frontiers of socialism side by side with the members of the GDR National People's Army and of the other fraternal armies of the Warsaw Pact countries.

Our militant alliance is being constantly forged in joint tactical exercises, in training and competitions, and in army service.

We are fulfilling the legacy of Lenin, thoroughly learning military skills. During today's practical regimental exercise with field firing, you were able to see this for yourself and to see the great skill of our soldiers, their cohesion, and their ability to use first-class weapons and military technology.

I declare this meeting on the occasion of the visit of the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, Comrade Erich Honecker, open.

At the end of the meeting Army Gen Mikhail Zyatsev spoke once again. He said:

Allow me to thank the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, our esteemed comrade, Erich Honecker, and all other German comrades for the visit to our unit and for meeting with us.

We are deeply moved, dear Comrade Honecker, by your warm, friendly [passage indistinct] We give you, dear friends, our deeply felt soldier's thanks. The members of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany will continue to raise their combat readiness and vigilance, to reliably defend the furthest frontiers of the socialist community side by side with our class brothers and brothers-in-arms, the members of the GDR National People's Army, and to give the enemy no chance.

Dear Comrade Honecker, every one of us heard your words in Moscow with all his heart: "Beside the Soviet Union, our great friend and ally, the people of the GDR knows that it can securely shape the present and the future of the GDR."

At the end of the visit to the troops, Army Gen Zaytsev gave a banquet in honor of Erich Honecker which was attended by other members of the GDR party and state leadership as well as by Soviet figures. At the beginning of the friendly occasion in the guest residence, Army Gen Zaytsev proposed a toast.

In the toast he assessed the visit as a new contribution to the constantly growing relations of fraternal friendship between the Soviet Union and the GDR. No one need concern themselves about the unshakability of this friendship, Gen Zaytzev said. It has been proven in history.

It is from this firm friendship between the two peoples that the fighting alliance between the Soviet forces and the National People's Army [NVA] draws its strength. The firm comradeship-in-arms of the soldiers of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany (GSSD) and the NVA, their growing cooperation, good knowledge of the military system, and the high fighting morale of the soldiers are a sure shield of peace and of the socialist achievements of the peoples of the socialist community on the dividing line between the two different social systems in Europe.

While imperialism has greatly aggravated the international situation, our fighting alliance stands as an insuperable obstacle before all adventurous efforts of the imperialist aggressors, Mikhail Zaytsev stressed. That is how it has been, how it is, and how it will remain.

The proposals of the Soviet Union and the GDR are understandable and are accepted by all who want to live in peace.

Erich Honecker in his reply said that visits by the party and state leadership of the GDR to the members of the GSSD are already a good tradition and an expression of the close, increasing solidarity, and cooperation between the parties, peoples, and armies of both countries. They are an expression of the cordial, fraternal bonds. Erich Honecker reaffirmed his esteem for the leadership of the commanders, political workers, and staff officers, the precision and cohesion of the actions during the exercise, the discipline and organization in the military collectives, and not least the complete command of the weapons and technology.

In view of the seriousness of the present world situation and the danger of war conjured up as never before by imperialism and NATO, the peace-preserving and peace-commanding mission of the socialist forces gains new dimensions, Erich Honecker continued. The GSSD is making an effective contribution to this. The members of the SED, the people of the GDR, and its soldiers have always regarded the friendship with the party of Lenin, the Soviet people, and its soldiers as a foundation of their existence.

This has also been confirmed during the recent visit of the party and state delegation to the USSR and in the talks with Yuriy Andropov. Erich Honecker said that the comradeship-in-arms between the members of the NVA of the GDR and the Soviet Army grow closer year by year. In a few days the exercise Soyuz 83 will once again demonstrate this.

At present millions of GDR young people are demonstrating for the efforts of the Warsaw Pact states to preserve world peace and to prevent a nuclear inferno under the motto: Create Peace Against NATO Weapons. Together with the CPSU and the other Marxist-Leninist parties, the SED is doing everything in its power to defend socialist achievements.

Honecker Speech

LD192122 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1547 GMT 19 May 83

["Speech by Erich Honecker at the Meeting in Magdeburg" -- ADN headline]

[Text] Magdeburg, 19 May (ADN) -- Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, said at the militant meeting on the occasion of a friendly visit to a motorized artillery regiment of the GSSD on Thursday.

We feel great satisfaction and joy to be among you today and to see how you, the members of the glorious Soviet Army, are performing outstanding deeds for the reliable protection of socialism and peace. I should like to convey to you and to all members of the GSSD the fraternal militant greetings from the SED Central Committee, the State Council and the Council of Ministers, the working class, and all working people as well as the soldiers of the GDR National People's Army.

We cordially thank Commander in Chief of the GSSD Comrade Army General Zaytsev, and Comrade Colonel General Lizichev, member of the Military Council and head of the GSSD Political Administration, for the invitation. We thank all Soviet comrades and the Lenin Pioneers, particularly the soldiers of the tank division, for their great hospitality and today's impressive experiences.

Our meeting is marked by our impressions of the GDR party and state delegation's friendly visit to your homeland.

On the eve of the 38th anniversary of the historical victory of the anti-Hitler alliance and its primary force, the Soviet Union, over barbaric Hitler-fascism, the visit was a convincing demonstration of the unity and cohesion of our fraternal peoples. Its results will usher in a new stage in strengthening the indestructible fraternal bond between the SED and the CPSU, between the GDR and the USSR.

The citizens of our country learned of this with great enthusiasm and approval. They were moved, as we were, by the cordiality and brotherliness with which the GDR party and state delegation were received and greeted by our friend and comrade, Yuriy Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, other representatives of your country, by workers in Moscow, and in the Soviet Socialist Republics of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan.

Every day and every hour that we spent together showed that this was a meeting of true friends and sworn comrades-in-arms, who know no higher aim than to work for peace and the good of mankind. We were given a great deal of inspiration and fresh impetus by the impressive achievements of Soviet workers in economy, science, education, and culture, as well as in strengthening the USSR's defense capacity.

The enormous dimensions of communist construction and the dynamic development of the USSR with its many nationalities show that the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Party Congress are being consistently and successfully implemented on a Leninist basis.

I should like to stress particularly the talks with Comrade Yuriy Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, which took place in a cordial and fraternal atmosphere. These were marked by a total agreement of views on all the issues discussed and demonstrated a firm will to do everything to solve the most important task of today -- securing peace. We are doing all we can constantly to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the socialist community and the alliance of the fraternal states allied in the Warsaw Pact.

The working class and all the working people of the GDR, and all the forces united in the National Front under the leadership of our Marxist-Leninist party loyally and reliably support this joint agreed policy. Our relations to constantly the whole world the vitality and optimism of socialism, and no force in the world can ever shake our fraternal alliance.

The GDR and the Soviet state and party leadership are in full agreement in their assessment of the international situation that at present there is nothing more urgent than to ward off the danger of war and to prevent mankind from being hurled into a nuclear inferno through the criminal actions of the most aggressive imperialist circles of, above all, the United States. These forces, which profit from the arms buildup, war, and genocide, are trying to destroy the existing balance of power, to attain military superiority, and to force the socialist states to their knees. In their adventurous doctrines they are planning the nuclear annihilation of socialism. They are calling for an anticommunist "crusade" and are intervening unscrupulously in the internal affairs of other states. All over the world they are abusing fundamental human rights, initiating conspiracies, and stoking up conflicts. This is made particularly clear by the most recent U.S. practices in El Salvador, Nicaragua, and the Middle East.

The deployment of new U.S. medium-range nuclear weapons in West Europe would create an extremely serious danger not only for Europe but for the entire world. It would cause a new round in the arms race and would force the Soviet Union and their alliance partners to take countermeasures to restore the military-strategic balance. The USSR and the GDR set out their clear and practical position that is in line with the Political Declaration of the Prague meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee.

For us the most important thing is that a nuclear war must not be permitted. We must reverse the trend of events and bring the world back onto the path of international detente. We strongly support the ending of the arms race, particularly in the nuclear field.

The USSR's proposals on the limitation and reduction of arms, which are strictly based on the principle of equality and equal security, open up the possibility of reducing the level of military confrontation and of reaching agreements on the radical reduction of nuclear weapons arsenals. We are against an increase in the stocks of nuclear weapons in Europe. Rather, we aim to achieve a balance in this area at a significantly lower level through a reduction of arms. We emphatically support the Soviet Union's new, significant initiative on the equality of nuclear potentials in Europe both as regards carriers and warheads. An early conclusion of an agreement in Geneva is necessary and possible to this end.

Not confrontation, but negotiations and constructive cooperation are our aim, so that interstate relations can develop on a peaceful basis and thus for the good of mankind. This view also fully applies to our relations with the FRG.

Mutual trust, understanding, and cooperation can only develop on the basis of unqualified respect for the existing political-territorial realities and strict observance of the treaties based on those realities. However, the revanchist tendencies flaring up again in the FRG run counter to this. As before, the GDR and the Soviet Union will continue to firmly reject all attempts to restrict the sovereign rights of the GDR and of the other socialist states, and to interfere in their internal affairs. We still strive for good-neighborly relations between the GDR and the FRG, but we say quite clearly that we cannot be blackmailed.

In our time it is fortunate and very encouraging for mankind that the struggle for peace has its most powerful bastion in the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community. Today more than ever everything depends on the all-round strengthening of socialism and its growing influence on events in the world. Hence, the successful development of every individual fraternal country and of our socialist community as a whole becomes even more important in the struggle for peace and socialism.

The communists and all the workers of the GDR are fully aware of the responsibility they bear at the heart of Europe, at the dividing line between socialism and imperialism, between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. The first workers' and peasants' state on German soil will continue to prove to be a stable cornerstone of peace on the European Continent.

Life in our republic, as you know, is totally given over to strenuous, resourceful work for the implementation of the resolutions of the 10th SED Party Congress. In all sectors of our economy, the workers are carrying out their great obligations in the competition that they have undertaken in Karl Marx Year in honor of the greatest son of the German people. Through this we have succeeded in continuing our constant economic growth in 1983.

Of course complicated problems must be overcome in doing so. But, dear comrades, when have we not had the problem of solving difficult situations? With the SED's economic strategy, however, which is aimed, in close cooperation with the Soviet Union, above all, at increasing production with the aid of scientific-technological progress and at raising productivity, we are advancing successfully forward. We are continuing consistently to implement the unity of economic and social policy. Our workers' knowledge that industrious work is directly reflected in the securing and gradual improvement of their material and cultural standard of living is proving to be a strong motive for high performance.

Our efforts for the political and economic strengthening of the GDR include the reliable military defense of our socialist achievements. If, in the face of all reason, new U.S. medium-range missiles appear on the territory of the FRG and other West European NATO countries, the GDR, loyal to its commitment within the socialist military alliance, will take the necessary measures in order strongly to protect socialism and peace.

We are aware that the struggle for peace still calls for great services and for sacrifices. Sustained by the firm trust of the working class and of all workers, supported by our economic and scientific-technological potential and using all the advantages of socialism we, at the side of our allies, will solve the problems that arise from this. Thus, we are fulfilling Lenin's legacy, according to which our measures for peace are to be linked with the exertion of all military power.

The fact that the military superiority of imperialism has been broken and an approximate military-strategic balance has been established between the USSR and the United States and between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, above all, through the enormous efforts of the Soviet Union, has proven to be an action for peace of inestimable value. This historic achievement of socialism, which until now has prevented a nuclear world war, will not be sacrificed in the future.

All our military efforts serve the sole purpose of not permitting imperialism to achieve any kind of military superiority, of thwarting its aggressive plans, and of making a war against socialism a deadly gamble. Never have the forces of our socialist military alliance borne such a great responsibility for the fate of mankind. Because we want to spare present and future generations from a nuclear inferno and because we want our daughters and sons, our grandchildren and greatgrandchildren to grow up in peace, we keep our fighting power and combat readiness at the necessary level.

We all know that service in the socialist forces is an effective service for peace and a noble humanist act. Thus, it is a fundamental concern of our party to educate the members of the National People's Army [NVA] to be ardent internationalists and patriots according to the teachings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, to be soldiers who are skilled in using their weaponry and who are ready to ward off any aggressor.

Our friendship with the country of Lenin and our comradeship-in-arms with its forces are among the most significant revolutionary achievements of our people. In such as this lives the legacy of Ernst Thaelmann, the unforgotten leader of the German working class, who regarded one's attitude toward the Soviet Union as a touchstone for assessing on which side of the barricade one stands.

Today this spirit of Thaelmann marks the cooperation of the NVA with the battle-tried Soviet Army and Navy, particularly with the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany. The recent visit by USSR Defense Minister, Comrade Marshal Dimitriy Ustinov, gave fresh impetus for further organizing our brotherhood-in-arms during daily duty, in the work of the staffs, during training and in exercises, as well as in the many and varied contacts with neighboring regiments. In so doing we are remaining true to the motto which has proven itself over the decades: To learn from the Soviet Army means to learn to win.

Our visit to your tank division today proves how important it is to always act according to this principle, here, west of the Elbe. We are greatly impressed by the outstanding results of the members of your unit in both political and fighting training. They have convincingly demonstrated how the Soviet Army works for military skills, ideological steadfastness, and political-moral and psychological toughening. I most cordially congratulate you on your excellent military achievements and your high fighting morale.

The SED, the GDR Government, and all our working people value extremely highly the great achievements of the members of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany toward the secure defense of peace and the joint work of socialist construction. After all, your military efforts have helped Europe to enjoy the longest period of peace which it has had in this century.

The workers of our republic feel closely bound to you in the joint struggle for the defense of socialist achievements. Every day they see how the members of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany are fulfilling their high internationalist class duty side-by-side with the soldiers of the GDR NVA and how they are proving themselves to be proletarian internationalists of the Lenin school. Even if the enemy in his blind hatred pours slander and lies on this unshakable fighting alliance, he will never succeed in undermining the fraternal bonds between our people and the soldiers in the noble dress of the Soviet Army.

Wherever Soviet soldiers are performing their duties they are working for the best and most just cause in the world -- the defense of socialism and peace. You, dear comrades, are carrying out these responsible duties far from home, on the soil of the GDR, in a country where Marx and Engels were born. You can always be assured of our concern and active support. We will do all we can to further strengthen the solidarity of the workers, the cooperative farmers, and all working people, particularly the youth, with their Soviet brothers-in-arms. The working class, all workers, and our people thank you for the great services which you perform daily for peace, for your socialist homeland, and for the fraternal alliance of the Warsaw Pact states.

We are deeply impressed by your hospitality and our great experiences today in your battle-tried division. Our visit today makes us more certain that the military protection of peaceful life is in strong and reliable hands. I wish you, dear Soviet friends, further success in the struggle for high combat readiness, health, happiness, and prosperity in your personal life and in the joint struggle for the defense of peace and socialism.

KROLIKOWSKI RECEIVES SOVIET MINISTERS IN BERLIN

AU181225 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 May 83 p 2

[Summary] Berlin (ADN) -- On 16 May Werner Krolikowski, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, received S.Ye. Sarukhanov, USSR deputy minister of trade, and B.S. Gordeyev, USSR deputy minister of foreign trade, for talks. Werner Krolikowski briefed the guests on the successful implementation of the decisions of the 10th SED Congress. "In the course of the talks, questions of further developing and deepening trade relations between the GDR and the USSR were discussed." In this connection they stressed that the official friendship visit of the GDR party and state delegation to the USSR has given new impetus to the fraternal cooperation between the two countries.

The talks were attended by Udo-Dieter Wange, minister for district managed industry and foodstuff industry; Claus Kuehnel, state secretary in the Ministry of Light Industry; and other economic representatives. Earlier the Soviet guests had talks in the Ministry for Foreign Trade, in the industry ministries, and with general directors of combines and foreign trade enterprises.

KROLIKOWSKI, JAROWINSKY ATTEND FRG RECEPTION

LD200638 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1642 GMT 19 May 83

[Text] Berlin, 19 May (ADN) -- On the occasion of the anniversary of the FRG Basic Law Proclamation, a reception was held on Thursday at the permanent FRG mission in the

GDR. Dr Hans Otto Braeutigam, head of the permament FRG mission, welcomed Werner Krolikowski, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Werner Jarowinsky, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee; Dr Manfred Gerlach, deputy chairman of the State Council; Dr Herbert Weiz, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, Wolfgang Junker, minister of construction; and other personalities in GDR social life as guests, including Bernhard Neugebauer, deputy minister of foreign affairs, as well as the heads of diplomatic missions accredited in the GDR.

BRIEFS

NEUMANN ACTIVITIES -- Alfred Neumann, first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, today visited the original plant of the Berlin-Treptow electric appliances combine. The working people of the plant, which is the capital's largest industrial enterprise, reported how the planned 9-percent production increase for this year will be attained. The plant's own department for the construction of rationalization facilities is supposed to contribute an essential portion to this end by, among other things, producing 25 robots. [Text] [East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 19 May 83 DW]

SINDERMANN RECEIVES CSSR OFFICIAL -- Horst Sindermann, deputy chairman of the GDR State Council and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, today received the delegation headed by CSSR Prosecutor General Dr Jan Fejes, which is visiting the GDR for several days to exchange experiences. Horst Sindermann said that the efforts to further consolidate law, order, and security were a firm part of the initiatives taken in the struggle for a high level of effectiveness and performance development and for the all-round strengthening of the GDR. Dr Jan Fejes assessed the many years' cooperation and the exchange of experiences between the prosecutor's office as a concrete contribution to the further deepening of fraternal cooperation between the two countries and to the implementation of common goals serving the strengthening of the socialist community. [Text] [East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1730 GMT 18 May 83 DW]

MIKLOS OVARI VIEWS HUNGARY'S PRESENT, FUTURE

LD131006 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 12 May 83

["Radio Diary" phone-in program on Hungary's present and future with Miklos Ovari, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, presented by Gyorgy Bolgar and Gyorgy Szalai, with additional recorded interviews -- live]

[Excerpts] [Question] Our guest is 58 years old. He studied at Budapest University of Science from 1949-1954, and from 1954-1958 was a teacher at the party high school. In the intervening period he studied in the Soviet Union. Please, let me stop here with your biography and ask you about the topic of your dissertation.

[Ovari] I studied at Moscow State University at the Faculty of History, at the chair of Modern History. I passed the preliminary examinations for a doctorate, but I did not write a dissertation because I returned home in 1956.

[Question] I will continue here. As it is stated in the lexicon you have worked as a member of the Central Committee since 1958; you were head of the Scientific and Public Education Department between 1966-1970; and since 1970 you have been a secretary of the Central Committee and finally a member of the Politburo since 1975. If you permit, one more personal question. What is your branch of work as a secretary of the Central Committee? What do you deal with?

[Ovari] With questions of agitation and propaganda, including party education and the press.

[Question] We aim in this program to deal with the most important questions concerning the country and its inhabitants. The interviews and reports that follow express our thinking and the thinking of the listeners. We expect your questions and remarks on No 130-099. The first subject is the economy. Our correspondent Zoltan Farkas interviewed Bela Kadar, department head of the World Economy Research Institute.

[Begin recording] [Farkas] Where is the Hungarian economy placed in the world economy as a whole? What is our performance like in these crisis years?

[Kadar] in recent years Hungary has been assessed internationally in a very favorable way. First, the 1978 trade deficit of $1.2 billion in the convertible currency area was turned into a positive balance of $400 million last year. In the last 4 years we have also succeeded in stopping the growth of our debts, and this year the total of Hungary's debts has decreased.

[Farkas] This was all necessary; in fact these results were forced by circumstances.

[Kadar] Looking at long-term effects the picture, of course, is not so favorable, because the balance that was developed under pressure has increased certain negative phenomenon. For example, the improvement in the foreign trade balance was made possible not by an increase in Hungarian exports but by limitations on imports and internal consumption. In the last 4 years the growth of Hungary's national income was only 5 percent, which is not a great achievement compared with the yearly average. Hungary's importance in world trade has decreased: In 1973 Hungary represented 0.7 percent of world trade; in 1982 this percentage was only 0.45. In the last decade Hungary's share in developed capitalist countries imports has decreased from 0.28 to 0.21 percent.

[Farkas] On one hand, we succeeded in stabilizing our financial situation, but on the other hand, looking at the world economy as a whole, it seems that we have lost ground. Is that right?

[Kadar] Yes. The improvement of the short-term balance has been accompanied by a loss of ground in world economy and also by internal limitations that unfavorably affect the country's medium-term or long-term adaptation processes. This balance performance was the result of a great decrease in investment as a percentage of internally-used national income. This is an unfavorable phenomenon on the long run, and its short-term influence on the so-called economic public spirit has also not been very good.

[Kadar] Holding back investment can no longer play a positive role in improving our balance, in our achievement, or in economic and political stabilization. The improvement of the country's saving and investment capacity is now unavoidably on the agenda, along with improving the profitability of investment. In allocating resources it is necessary to give priority to those sectors, enterprises, and smaller groups that are capable of producing competitive and profitable products.

[Farkas] What possibilities do you see for the Hungarian people's economy?

[Kadar] Real pressure to adapt is now evident. This is a socio-political question -- how great is the Hungarian economy's endurance in connection with the unavoidable sacrifices. The entire world economy seems to be experiencing an upturn, which is some reason for hope. Our success depends mainly on leadership's ability to make people accept the need for greater output and sacrifices, and on whether the central leadership is capable of developing the reforms and action programs suitable for social mobilization that are necessary to start new movements in the economy and society. [end recording]

[Question] How far can the objective which we formulate today as the need to maintain the standard of living be a lasting, long-term program?

[Ovari] Well, it is very difficult to make predictions even after a thorough scientific examination. It is especially difficult in the framework of such a radio program. Briefly, we may say that this situation is transitional, at any rate. The question, of course, is how long this transition is going to last. In the long term we cannot renounce the socialist objective, which is that together with the building of socialism and parallel with the development of a socialist society the workers' living standard should regularly rise.

The question, therefore, is: What does this transition mean? This depends on several things. The combined effect of several factors could influence when this transitional period ends. There are external conditions which have to be taken into account, though it is often difficult to calculate them. There are also internal conditions.

Among the external conditions, I would mention first -- maybe departing from custom -- that Hungary is a member of CEMA, and that this means adequate security. The CEMA countries deal with the development of the operation of the CEMA organization, which is at all events a positive factor also from the viewpoint of our prospects. Another external factor that is well known is the shaping of the economic situation of the capitalist world, from which we cannot make ourselves independent. So the time of the solution of our problems depends also on the way in which the economic situation there develops. These are just the external factors.

The duration of the transitional period depends to a great extent also on the way in which we perform our own work. We have to work better -- this is the simplest expression -- this, of course contains very many concrete things. So, we may say that if we fulfill the plans, if external conditions improve, or at least if they do not deteriorate, then we may hope that this transitional situation will not last too long; but this "not too long" still means years. This, however, can also have the advantage that we lay the concrete foundations for the conditions of the later rise in living standards.

[Question] In any case, we are still in a transitional situation, and in such a situation the economy's growth is stagnating; people feel that life cannot become easier; on the contrary, in some respects it is more difficult. Now, from whom do we expect major changes in such a situation? I mean not only people but also enterprises, for example. As we know, in general the practice is that enterprises which pulling their weight better and which make more profits are those from which we take the money to use to support those doing less well. How long can this go on? According to many opinions, the development of the better enterprises ought to be encouraged because the country's development could thus be accelerated. As Bela Kadar said, these are the pains of adaptation, and who must feel them first? Because this is the matter, this is the question.

[Ovari] Maybe I can begin by saying that I feel the word sacrifice is, in my mind, too big a word, too strong an expression. The people have made very many sacrifices, and those cannot be compared with today's sacrifices; nevertheless the question of who should bear the burdens is justified, because burdens must be borne, by the population and also by enterprises.

Perhaps I will take the population first. It would start from the fact that in a more difficult situation there is always the need to share the public burden, to have, if possible, an equal and, I would say, just distribution of burdens. Of course, just distribution can mean several things, becuase I do not see it as unjust that the person who works better should earn more, because those who work better are in fact helping in the solution of these difficulties. However, we must now say that we have a transitional situation, in which we must ask for greater understanding precisely from those who are pulling their weight better and producing better, because we must reckon with the fact that there is not a negligible part of society which is living in difficult conditions indeed and no more can be requried from them. Comrade Havasi spoke about this in parliament in December, and I fully share his opinion when he said that in the long term this would not be correct, this equal sharing of burdens, that those who work well and those who work less well should bear equal burdens, but for the time being we must ask for understanding from those who perhaps are carrying greater burdens.

[Question] Is the situation the same as far as enterprises are concerned?

[Ovari] At enterprises the situation is maybe a little different. There, there is compulsion. The country has budget liabilities, obligations of payment, and these sums can only be taken from where they exist. This is a contradiction, of cource, that we are taking it away from those on whose development the solution of the problems depends. This cannot be maintained forever, either. Bela Kadar is right to say that here there is a need for the development of production, technical development, and investments and I think he also said selective. So investment and development must be done where this investment and development are certain to bear fruit within a relatively short time.

[Question] Now, as we have come to this point, the question is: What kinds of reserves can be uncovered? I mean that in the last few years we have been compelled to take certain restrictions: import restrictions and delays in investments.

Where can we see other reserves for progress? We have achieved a balance to date. The matter is also interesting -- I am not saying anything special because it is contained also in documents -- because this present method of delaying investments and restricting imports cannot be pursued for ever, so the necessary reserves must be found.

[Ovari] I agree with this; the path of the future is not that we further restrict investments or further reduce the living standard, if this is not unavoidable, because necessity here is a very big force. It was not even some kind of political decision to the effect that it will do us good if we reduce the standard of living or delay investments. It just was not possible to do otherwise. Concerning the future, the real alternative is whether we can increase the efficacy of the economy, which is what the real way out of the problems means.

[Question] Now, Comrade Ovari, you have mentioned the standard of living. This is something that very much depends on the time scale. Although, according to the plans, real wages will decline this year, if we look back on the last 2-3 years it was one of the most important endeavors by the government -- a goal to which, apart from the equilibrium, almost everything else was subordinated -- to preserve on the whole the standard of living. Of course, I should imagine that it can still happen that a decline occurs from one year to the next. However, this was a goal to which a great many economic targets were subordinated.

[Ovari] Yes, as we generally say, the current plan includes a 2-percent decline in real incomes. In fact, we do not plan a decline. It is not the case the we decide that real incomes should decrease by 2 percent. This is a different aspect of planning from the one where we say that production should increase by a certain percentage. This, so to say, is a reality which arises from the situation, something that became incorporated in the plan. In other words, it is not a conscious decision by the party or the government that we should decrease the level of real incomes this year, rather, the party and the government have appraised the given possibilities, calculated what we can afford this year, and this produced the result of 98 percent. I believe that the question had another aspect as well.

[Question] What I had in mind was that the decline in the living standard is only a temporary phenomenon; it may occur from one year to the next, let us say this year, but in the longer term the preservation of the living standard has been one of the government's main goals, something to which many other economic targets, themselves deemed important, have been rather subordinated. Various things could not be done precisely because we have been trying to maintain the living standard. This has prevented us from investing more. The curb on investment was also a decision forced on us, partly by the fact that we consumed certain sums.

[Ovari] Indeed, what is involved is that we can distribute only that which has been produced. Now, it is necessary to distribute so that there is something for investment, something for accumulation and also something for the living standard. The question, therefore, is how much to devote to investment and how much to the living standard. Here we must take the given possibilities as our point of departure, because there are examples in Hungarian history as well to show that when we moved away from reality, this resulted in even greater problems.

[Question] Here is another concept, one that we have been using with increasing frequency lately: the limit of tolerance. We also say that as the difficulties increase so does the population's limit of tolerance. How do you see this? How do you evaluate the limit of tolerance of the economy and of society? I am thinking here of the strata in a disadvantaged position, primarily the old-age pensioners.

[Ovari] I believe we must differentiate between the limits of tolerance of the economy and those of society. When we speak of our economy's limit of tolerance, what we mean is how long the economy can tolerate the fact that we spend relatively little on investment and technological development. Well, it is difficult to give specific figures or dates. Anyway, this is a temporary phenomenon. We have already spoken about the fact that the way out is technological development, the development of the economy.

Now, as regards the population's limit of tolerance, well, I believe that if we speak about keeping things at the same level, even this tests this certain tolerance of the population. This is so because preserving the same standard does not mean the same thing for everyone. As we have recently been saying more frequently, there are those for whom the preservation of the same standard is a reality, there are those who say that this is true of them, but there are also those who say that for them this is not the case. We are talking here about a social average, and it is a property of the concept of average that there are people above and below it. Those who are above the average in general do not present a problem from the point of view of the limits of tolerance. Of course, we have to take those below the average into consideration.

By the way, I am not fond if this expression -- limits of tolerance. Allow me to say this now, even though this is a very popular expression. I can also tell you why: It is because our people have tolerated a great deal in the past decades, and it is justified to say that they have undertaken many sacrifices so that there could be a socialist system in this country. It is my opinion that the relationship of the population to socialism cannot depend on a few percentage points. The people have undertaken a great deal for the sake of socialist achievements; I believe that they will defend these achievements in even more difficult circumstances and will do everything to defend these achievements.

[Question] I would, however, like to go back, if you will permit me to the opinion expressed by an old age pensioner, according to which it is often said on the radio and television: It is not possible at the moment, but we will try to improve the situation of the pensioners. What is the government's intention in this respect?

[Ovari] The Central Committee adopted a decision in principle in December last year which says that if conditions do not deteriorate, in other words if no particularly great economic problems emerge, problems greater than those we are now familiar with, and if we fulfill the plans, then in September the situation of those pensioners who face the most difficult circumstances must be examined. Our party, the trade union, and the government are all dealing with the question of what this should mean in practice. However, I would not like to create illusions here. What is involved is really no more than helping those pensioners who are in the most difficult situation; there is no question of a general rise.

[Question] Before we go on to our next topic about the economy, we have received an interesting phone call from Mikohazi 110909: What is Miklos Ovari's view: Will Hungary experience transitional unemployment, and if so, what reaction would he expect?

[Ovari] I know that there is a fear among the public that there might be unemployment. There may even be some who believe that perhaps it would be a good thing if there were a certain kind of unemployment; it would help strengthen work discipline. I believe, however, that this is not a socialist solution, and for this reason the party, the administration, does not take the creation of unemployment into account. Of course, this does not mean that everybody's present sphere of work can be guaranteed, because if we take seriously the fact that economic efficiency must be increased, if take seriously what we heard in a number of the questions and what we have heard in the statements so far, that those enterprises working well must be supported, then this

also means that those enterprises working badly may have to be reorganized, which could mean that some workers will have to change employment; but this is not unemployment. Besides, at the last Central Committee session it was also mentioned that we are thinking about how the working week in industry could be reduced to 40 hours for the moment. This, therefore, is also a solution, if the situation should come about that there is a surplus work force. However, we know very well that there are still many work opportunities (?today).

[Question] At present it would seem that the problem is that many enterprises cannot find workers.

[Ovari] This is a problem, but in my opinion enterprises should be thinking about resolving this issue by exploring and regrouping their internal labor reserves. In the service sector, however, there is a real shortage of labor.

[Question] Is this not a matter -- and I would define the question thus -- that on the one hand we see that socialist society has put behind itself the moral categories of a bourgeois society, which were based partly on private property, and we started out in a new direction, but now, as the form of socialist property has become established and has a dominant role, we see certain new phenomena, new things, emerge -- I am thinking of the new-type of forms of property, economic working communities -- and maybe these things produce some kind of uncertainty in the thinking of people? It is not clear what is seen as moral and what is not, and, as this goes on, it can harmfully affect human relations as well, these moral ambiguities. Is it not so?

[Ovari] Well, here it is a matter of two different questions. The one is that that we are really altering traditions of thousands of years within a (?relatively few) years. I do not like to quote but, as an exception, let me refer to what Comrade Andropov wrote in KOMMUNIST in connection with the Marx anniversary: He wrote that the acquisition of the right of property is not the same as the formation of the consciousness of proprietorship. This is what we are actually dealing with: It takes a long economic, political, and even psychological process to develop the consciousness of ownership. The old no longer exists; the old still remains in parts, and the new has not yet developed sufficiently. This is one question.

The other is these new phenomena in the economy. First, I would say that the weight of these new enterprises in Hungarian economic life must be evaluated realistically. The realistic evaluation -- and it was said also at the Central Committee session -- is that here we are dealing with 1-2 percent, and maybe it is the power of novelty which is magnifying these phenomena. But I see the essence in the fact that these new types of enterprise are in harmony with socialist principles or socialist practice. So, here the matter is not that something contrary to socialism is making its appearance now and we must become accustomed to it, but that we must become accustomed to a more complex, more realistic evaluation of socialism which corresponds better with reality.

[Question] Could we say that we have to adapt to reality our picture of socialism, the system of our views formed of socialism, and not to adapt reality to the picture of a former socialism?

[Ovari] We are allowed to say this because Marx also said this, if not with the same words in essence he said so, and it was not fortuitous that I have referred to this in my speech at the academy. He did not say to the world: I have invented for you a beautiful idea, follow it. An ideal -- if I may say so -- because if the world will not follow it, what is the conclusion? That the world is worthless because it does not follow my good ideas.

In truth Marx's view of socialism started out from the fact that he (?inspired) the real struggle of the working class, that he did not define the aims but explained what (?is at stake) in the struggle, and so he brought consciousness into the movement. And today, too, we must examine reality, must start out from reality, and understand this reality.

[Question] Now, concerning the amalgamation between reality and aims, I'll explain what I mean: 30-35 years ago we proclaimed that we are building a socialist society here that will be the society of plenty, equality, and justice. These are aims which everybody accepts willingly. The wish was, and there were favorable signs, that this should come about quickly, that this society will be constructed within a few years. And then it became obvious that this process is long, it may take not only years but decades or even longer. But people still claim these wishful aims, going so far as to ask why prices are not lower; why does everyone not receive equal pay for equal work, and so forth; why is work discipline such as it is. All unfavorable phenomena are summed up as follows: We proclaimed great aims and they have not been fulfilled. I believe this also reflects a certain moral insecurity.

[Ovari] This is truly so. My view is that we must not change our principles for this reason, and especially not if we bring these principles to the level of reality and do not promise for tomorrow what we can achieve only the day after tomorrow. I can recall, too, the times of 30-38 years ago. We really believed that our socialist aims are so beautiful that they can be realized very quickly. Reality, of course, denies this. But it does not follow that we must give up these aims, for example, the aim that there should not be exploitation. Let me say (?further): This is the society of work; everyone should work according to his capabilities and should have his share of the jointly produced goods according to his work; this is a collective society, a democratic society, differently democratic compared with the bourgeois democratic societies; the rules of human coexistence must gain expression in reciprocal relations in families, friendship, love, and in other spheres -- all this must not be given up, but we must be realistic and know that, of course, the attainment of these beautiful and realistic aims still requires much work.

[Question] While we are on the subject of living together, a correspondent, Peter Varga from the 13th district of Budapest, writes of a new phenomenon: I was delighted with the latest Central Committee resolution which calls for struggle against parasitism and profiteering. I am not in favor of egalitarianism in any sphere and appreciate that when people work much harder they receive a higher income and can thus live better than the average. However, there is also a stratum in the country whose luxurious lifestyle without work is known only from conversations in the corridors of our workplaces. My question is: Can such large differences in income be tolerated in our society? Our correspondent awaits comrade Ovari's answer.

[Ovari] I am basically in agreement with the opinion of the writer of the letter. However, I would like to refer to the fact that there are certain legends. Not every conversation in the corridors is true. By the way, it does not worry me especially that some are not true; conversations in corridors are generally loose and this is quite natural. There are, however, a few legends, one of which is that anyone who is self-employed earns a lot of money. The fact is that there are self-employed people who earn a great deal, but there are many who only just make a living. Unfortunately quite a few self-employed people are considering returning their licences, although society has a great need for artisans.

There is also an opinion according to which the only way to make a lot of money is by wheeling and dealing. I think that there is some truth in this as well. There are people who acquire a lot of money through hustling, illegal means, and criminal activities. It is obvious that one must live in accordance with the law. However, there are clever people, people with enterprise and initiative, and if they earn a lot, more than the average, this is something that must be accepted.

[Question] In the next conversation we will be analyzing essential issues in tne development of our system of political institutions, of socialist democracy. Academician Kalman Kulcsar, director of the Institute of Sociology, was interviewed by Zsofia Mihancsik:

[Begin recording] [Kulcsar] On a normative level there is no obstacle to control being exercized from below; however, the centuries-long political and cultural characteristics which, let me add, were reinforced in very essential aspects by the 1950's, provide little scope for the genuine manifestation of this control. This, however, is only a hypothesis, and it is not certain that it is correct in every aspect. The more important question is what should be done. There are tasks both on the normative level and on the level of actual processes. On the normative level there are obviously obstacles that can be eliminated, obstacles to the development of socialist democracy, and guarantees can be incorporated, through legal norms as well, which are presumably indispensable. In practice I believe the most important thing is to provide an example. As, in a sense, political culture was shaped into what it is historically from above, so in the further shaping of political culture, besides facilitating the manifestation of local interest to the greatest possible extent, an example provided from above is also necessary. Political culture must be advanced with the example of solving conflicts with a willingness to compromise.

Thus, I would begin the further development of political culture in the direction of socialist democracy from above and below at the same time, starting on the development of genuine self-administration in cities and villages, with the provision of the appropriate financial means, of course. This is how the process of learning -- which is indispensible for democratic institutions, developed on the normative level, to function in practice as well as we often impatiently expect -- can get underway.

[Kihanczik] You have written several times that partly as a result of traditions, the functioning and, therefore, the reactions of the political system are rather slow and cumbersome. What will bring about a change in political culture?

[Kulcsar] I think that political understanding must move in this direction. It is the holding back of processes over lengthy periods which, hindering slow change, usually leads to explosive changes. This is one of the basic tenets of Marxism. It is a characteristic of every system, not only of the political system, that structural adaptation is difficult. The more a system is regulated, the more it preserves its own structure. These systems usually change at times when reality, to use a crude expression, hits them in the face. A more polite way of putting this is that change occurs when the disfunctional results of their activities become unbearable.

I think that it is characteristic of the functioning of the political system that only relatively rarely does it wait for this to happen. Occasionally it does occur, of course; we only have to think of 1956 in Hungarian history. In general, however, the political system is capable of adapting to its environment, thereby changing in its internal components and structure. Of course, this is also a matter of political understanding and political culture. [end recording]

[Question] We have been listening to Academician Kalman Kulcsar. I would start the conversation on this range of issues by putting to you a question phoned in by Endre Sebestyen, telephone No 263-361. In your opinion, Comrade Ovari, what is the reason for the fact that, despite our considerable achievements in the sphere of the development of socialist democracy, these are not yet fully in line with the requirements of society? In your evaluation, what are the most important conditions on the one hand, and methods on the other, for the development and strengthening of socialist democracy at present?

[Ovari] Obviously, the question was formulated before the interview with Kalman Kulcsar, and I feel that Kalman Kulcsar really answered it as regards the causes. Now as to what the tasks are, this is the more complex part of the issue. Essentially I have the view that there are tasks here both at the institutional level and in the practice of social reality. My feeling is that what is needed is not a single campaign but continuous action at both levels.

[Question] In other words, you agree with the academician's statement to the effect that initiatives and progress are needed both from above and from below at the same time?

[Ovari] I agree with Kalman Kulcsar rather than with the words, from above and from below. I do not like these expressions, "above" and "below." It is difficult to determine who is above and who is below. If we take it as our point of departure that in Hungary it is the people who are in power, we can interpret this to mean that the people are on top and those who fulfill a service in the exercise of power are carrying out the directives of the people's power. Now, returning to the question in hand, I agree that there are tasks on an institutional level and there are tasks in the practice of social reality. On the institutional level there is a succession of new measures. At present electoral system reform is on the agenda. We will see what emerges from this. Anyway, the goal is that should serve the strengthening of socialist democracy. The number of posts filled by election will increase, as will the number of posts advertised and the number of posts filled for specific periods of time. In certain posts leaders will be selected on the basis of the opinion of the working collectives. In other words, what is involved is a process, one that must be continued, on the institutional level as well.

The other aspect of the issue is social practice. This is something that cannot be regulated, nor must it be, in my opinion. It follows from the essence of socialist democracy that it is not based on instructions and decrees, on everyone doing what they must, but there is a certain social initiative. Socialist democracy cannot consist of patterns: It indicates the right decision, the framework, and this framework must be supplemented by real life. Thus, socialist democracy cannot be developed by resolutions alone.

[Question] When we were talking about from above and from below, obviously this is something that can be interpreted institutionally as well. In other words, there are central directing organs and there are also local councils. Presumably this is what Kalman Kulcsar had in mind as well.

[Ovari] I agree with this formulation.

[Question] A worker said that he takes relatively little part in determining the circumstances of his work, what his factory is doing, and how it does it. I should think that if we call this "from below", then there is scope for progress in this sphere. In other words, the members of a community, factory, or cooperative should participate, should have greater participation in what should be done, and that there should be not only the institutional framework.

[Ovari] This also depends on the institutional frameworks, of the possibilities provided by the decrees. However, I would very much like to emphasize that this depends also on the strength of the collective, on whether the collective is able to gain for itself the authority which makes it unavoidable that its views should be sought.

[Question] Let me now put to you the following question: We say that in this country the internal political situation is stable, there is calm. At the same time the development of democracy requires greater openness and more debates. Interests must inevitably clash in these debates. Is there not a danger that the need for internal political stability conflicts with these debates coming into the open or even to having these debates at all?

[Ovari] In my opinion, these two to not contradict each other; on the contrary. I could start from the fact that we want to develop socialist democracy; more precisely, we want to keep the stability of our internal political situation. It follows from this that we must give floor-space to every rational debate [word indistinct] we can also start out from what we talked about in the first hour, that the economic situation is difficult. Without going into details now, if the situation is more difficult, there is a need not for less democracy, but even more need to unite every reasonable thought and active force, that these should be given ground. So these two things do not contradict one another.

[Question] The way you put it, these are doubtless two processes which strengthen one another, but people often say that if we permit interests to clash openly, if the one clashes with the other, then we give rise to divergences of views rather than strengthening that unity necessary for the execution of certain tasks. What is your opinion about this?

[Ovari] Many years ago the party recognized this otherwise real situation that in our society there are different interests, and that if they exist then we must reckon with this reality; politics cannot function any other way. Therefore, if there are varying interests do appear. This problem has another side, too, which we must never forget when we speak about group and individual interests -- society also has fundamental common interests. Therefore, we must look together at the common interests, individual interests, and group interests, and somehow our political institutions -- by this I do not now mean only the party but also mass organization and even state organizations -- must ensure that these individual, group, and common interests are resolved in harmony with each other.

[Question] Perhaps these common interests are better expressed and more clearly formulated, if the individual group, and other interests are also clearly formulated and come together at various forums. From this certain common interests can develop more markedly and more clearly.

[Ovari] This is natural, because there is no such thing as an abstract common interest What is the common interest composed of? Of 10.5 million individuals interests, and many group interests, how shall I say -- using a geometrical expression -- are the components -- that is many interests together compose what in the end we term a common interest.

[Question] It seems we must come back to the economic issues that we have already analyzed in the first hour. Many pensioners have telephoned and many of them asked about price rises. I do not know, but perhaps the way to put it is: How long should we expect price rises to continue, and will we ever return in whatever form to the world of stable prices?

[Ovari] I know that our society is particularly sensitive to price rises, and I could also say that we must understand this sensitivity. The government understands it, the party understands it, the trade unions understand it. But every responsible factor, in taking practical measures, must reckon with reality. Now, as to whether we must live with these price rises, and for how long, I would start by saying that prices are only one factor in the shaping of living standards. They are an essential factor, but only one factor. The price level in itself does not say anything about living standards. If we take the price level together with the level of wages, then already we know more; but even this is not enough, because there are sociopolitical benefits, and in our system these make up a fairly considerable proportion of income. There are also other benefits that do not appear directly in the life of the individual, such as the building of schools, hospitals, shops, houses, roads, and so forth, which also plays a part in the improving living standards.

Therefore, the crux of what I want to say is that we must try to see the development of the standard of living as a complex, taking every factor into consideration, within which prices occupy their appropriate position. How long will this last? Well, we cannot reply to this or decide by listening to our desires. Unfortunately, economic laws are the most severe laws in the world -- economic laws are more severe even than martial law -- and prices are shaped by definite laws. If we want to speak about this simply, we must start by asking what determines prices. Obviously they are determined by which raw materials are needed for production, and what energy and technology are needed. These are all price-raising factors.

[Question] Where we obtain them from, how much we pay for them?

[Ovari] Of course there are also factors that are price-reducing -- the improvement of efficiency and productivity. The question is whether the price-raising or the price-reducing factors will have the greater effect. It is a world trend that the price-raising factors are having a greater effect, and it is difficult for us to escape this. The way out, in fact, is for the other factors that shape living standards to be developed so that the end result is the raising of the population's living standards.

[Question] Let me interrupt here and say that I believe things are not as simple as that. We should accept that, in general, stability in the price mechanism belongs to the past. In accordance with our concepts we should endeavor rather to compensate through wage rises -- if we can do this -- for the increase in prices that reflects the increase in real production costs, although our listeners among the old-age-pensioners may not be aware of this increase in real production costs. If we view matters in this way, that is to say in their entirety, I believe that in fact the percentage rate of inflation we have to face is not highly significant if we can place an identical or similar percentage rate in wages alongside.

[Ovari] Indeed, it would be best if we could match it with a higher increase in wages. However, there again, this does not depend on a subjective decision but rather on the capacity of the economy. Briefly, let me say that the cure for this, as somebody said in one of the interviews, is improved work. Thus, if prices rise they can be counterbalanced by a higher increase in wages.

[Question] Quite clearly the conditions must be created for this improved work. However, I have here another question. Adam Kovacs from phone No 189-638 asks whether any changes can be expected in state-church relations.

[Ovari] In my view no changes can be expected, and this is all the less likely because changes would not be desirable. Relations between the state and the churches -- since there are several churches in Hungary -- are good and well-settled. I wish this to remain the same.

[Question] Now that we are on the subject of the churches, let me say that we have received a letter from Tamas Vizadnai, a retired pastor of the Reformed Church who lives in Komlo, who notes that on several occasions parents who had enrolled their children in religious instruction courses were affected by certain disadvantages. Let me quote from the letter: If Mr Secretary from the Central Committee were to state that every parent who wishes to provide religious education in the faith in addition to the compulsory atheistic education could enroll his child for religious instructions at school without any drawbacks for the child or parent involved, this would finally demonstrate that the party wishes to wage its ideological struggle not through the means of power and administration but in an honest way with the weapons of principle and intellect.

[Ovari] I believe that the reverend pastor does not expect me to agitate in favor of enrollment for religious education. However, I could say that nobody faces any disadvantages in this country because of his religious convictions. It is another question whether this dual form of education is good as formulated in the letter that there should be, on the one hand, an atheistic education based on the materialist world view, and also a religious-ethical education. It is questionable to me whether this dual education may not cause some disruption for a young person.

[Question] We will return to the subject of the young. There are people who charge the young with being hot-headed and having confused views. This statement is the summing up of one view or condemnation, but there are many that say this.

[Ovari] Brief generalizations are never good. I do not consider the young in general to be either hot-headed or to have confused opinions. How are the views of the young formed? When a baby is born he has no views whatsoever. Then he learns, gains experiences, and views are gradually formed. There are correct views, personal views, as well as confused views, but I would not say that the young have only confused views while adults have nothing but clear ideas. There are confused views both among the young and adults. However, I do not regard this as significant. The point is that views are being formulated among the young and I appreciate the dynamism, openness and interest among the young. I am old enough to be able to talk about the development of several among the younger generation, as well as that of my own, and today's young are far more well-educated and much more open than they were in my time. For this reason I do not share the view that the young are the sort of people whose thinking is confused.

[Question] Concerning the young, let me add this question. Telephone calls and letters from retired people show that in many cases pensioners condemn the attitudes of young people. They feel antagonized, they criticize the coarse behavior of the young, and criticize and condemn their attitude. Is this not a dangerous occurrence in our society?

[Ovari] A short time ago I said that we should not condemn the young. Let us not condemn the old either. I think that to a certain degree it is natural that particular questions are viewed differently by a young and an older person. If there is really an open and democratic atmosphere, then it must be tolerated that often there is not perfect agreement between the views of the young and old -- not speaking here of questions of political principle.

Why should we force the old -- I beg your pardon, the older ones -- to enjoy the music the young like, and the same applies in reverse. Here, too, there must be a capacity of tolerance, a democratic atmosphere, differing views must be tolerated.

[Question] There was an observation here. I believe a worker from the electricity works said that the definition of new thoughts is not so easy. Of course, it is relatively easy to define things but it is more difficult to speak about them in front of a wider public. It is easier to support a certain thing, but to come forward with something new or astounding is more difficult. Now, this is a natural human matter but maybe it can also be understood in social dimensions.

[Ovari] To come forward with something new is partly easy and partly difficult, because it depends on what we regard as new. The fact of being new is in itself not a qualification. I would say that to come forward with something new that makes sense is very difficult, and it is often difficult to make it accepted, again for understandable reasons, because we have gotten used to many things, and if something goes against our habits it is more difficult for it to be accepted. As to how wide a publicity new ideas can have, or should have, we must think of the fact that there are new ideas of public interest and these, I believe, must be given wide publicity. Fortunately there are many such new ideas that apply to one factory or one office, not meriting nationwide publicity but certainly meriting it in the field of work concerned.

[Question] Are there guarantees for this, in your opinion? There are obviously places where this is working, and places where is it less so; are there institutional guarantees for this?

[Ovari] It is difficult to create institutional guarantees for this, and the fact is really as you say -- where this works correctly there are guarantees, and in other places less so.

[Question] Here is a question from a listener referring to the recent Central Committee session, and saying that according to the resolution nationalist views in certain strata of society have recently revived and strengthened. What do you see as the reason for the revival of nationalism and its causes, and how could we fight against it more effectively -- in your opinion -- on a society-wide scale with the strengthening of socialist patriotism and internationalism?

[Ovari] The questioner has supplied part of the answer himself; this is one part of the answer: that of the dissemination of the ideas of socialist patriotism and internationalism. But, of course, one can fight not only with this, and in practice it is more difficult than just to say it. And as there are causes so there are the effects of the remnants of a longer historic period. This is an inheritance that is a burden that is not so easy to eliminate either with resolutions or with simple agitation. For this reason, in addition to saying what the questioner correctly says, that we must propagate socialist patriotism and internationalism, I would say that basically the alteration of social reality, in other words, socialist development on a world scale and here at home in the Hungarian People's Republic, can solve this difficult problem.

[Question] Now, back to pensioners. They have heard that the pension age for women will be raised from 55 to 58. This is a question from the [word indistinct] brigade of the Kispest textile factory.

[Ovari] There is no foundation for this opinion. Nothing like this is being planned.

[Question] And Mrs Szabo on 668-567 asks: Will there be any change in determining the basic pension?

[Ovari] Not so far as I know.

[Question] Let us continue. This is the "Radio Diary." We continue to await our listeners' questions on 130-099. Our guest is Miklos Ovari, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee.

We continue with publicity, if only because everyone has something to say about it; and we have already started speaking about it, because the public, after all, is us, all of us. However, it also has experts, and maybe we could listen to one now. Andras Domany talks to Tamas Szecskoe, director of the Mass Communications Research Center.

[Begin recording] I think it is quite clear that the press, information, is a kind of instrument of power; it represents interests. But, as everything changes in society, in political thinking, I suppose that this concept, the interpretation of this concept, is not some completely static, eternal thing, either?

[Szecskoe] I have the impression that we have recently begun to realize that it is connected primarily not to tactical but strategic considerations. Therefore, the power of a given class, the working class, in a capitalist society of the capitalist class, has to be represented strategically.

[Domany] It is no secret that Hungarian radio is really -- but we could take any other organ of the press -- is under the direction of the party, the party Central Committee, the Council of Ministers Information Office. However, this sometimes means that an official really expects in every single tiny step for no matter what decision of no matter what ministry, in the case of a county (?matter), for no matter what decision of no matter what department of the county council, its support, its popularization, its defense against eventual judgements.

[Szecskoe] I think that we can also find people who cling to our own system of concepts. Tactical steps must not be systematically raised to the level of ideology. I think we may also say that tactical steps must not be systematically raised to the level of propaganda. I believe that mass information must also suggest that there are no definitive answers. There are always more alternatives from which in a given historical period, in a given moment, one body will chose the one that seems the best, the one that seems the optimum. But it may be that in a week's time, in a month's time, in 10 years' time, another of the alternatives will come to the forefront. [end recording]

[Question] We listened to the views of Tamas Szecskoe, director of the Mass Communications Research Center. Let me react to his last remark, that there are indeed decisions about which it may become obvious sooner or later that they were not good decisions. The question is now as follows: Are there here any everyday interests which would dictate that we should not speak about this or that, indeed, that we will work on a decision of a different kind, but that we should not say in the meantime that the previous decision was incorrect? In your view, does not this withdrawal from publicity, giving priority to everyday interests over the interests of providing comprehensive information, obstruct the development of socialist democracy, which we discussed earlier? This is not merely a matter of the work of the press, which is only of secondary importance from this viewpoint.

[Ovari] I believe that openness is not merely the special requirement of mass information. It is one of the basic principles of the party's policy.

It can be said that in the past few decades all our successes have been connected with the fact that the Central Committee has openly spoken not only about the achievements but also about the problems. So, I can say that this requirement of the mass information media, that we should speak openly both about the difficulties and the shortcomings, is identical with the party's open policy.

Of course, this issue is far more complex in practice. I cannot make the work of either radio, television, or the press easier by giving ready-made prescriptions as to how the interests of mass communications and propaganda can be coordinated with economic interests in everyday practice. I do not believe that there can be any kind of propaganda which would be contrary to any fundamental economic interest. However, these are merely principles, and practice -- and this I know from your work, too -- is far more difficult, therefore, these difficulties encountered in practice must be overcome.

[Question] The party declared also at the last Central Committee session that politics must be pursued openly, honestly, and sincerely. It also formulated the view that the weaknesses of our work are to be found in slow reactions, inflexibility, and in clumsy and formalistic solutions. How and what kind of a step forward can be formulated with respect to the fact that our constant self-renewal should lead to useful results, and that we should eliminate these weaknesses in the mass media, the economy, and in other spheres?

[Ovari] This question can apply to several things. It can apply to the economy and also first and foremost, to [word indistinct]. Let us deal with this issue or this part of the question. The reform was, indeed, one of the central issues at the Central Committee session. This is debated in society, within the party, and internationally. For this reason it was necessary for the Central Committee to take a clear stand on this issue.

Naturally, the further development of economic management has a great many tangible, practical problems, and I do not believe that we have the time to discuss these details 6 minutes before the end of the program. The main question is, however, whether we are to continue the practice of economic management launched in 1968. There are two alternatives to this: We can either go back on it or, putting this kind of reform aside, we can start on a new reform. The Central Committee took a unequivocal stand that there could be no question either of a new reform or the freezing of the reform introduced in 1968. The option that remained was the need for continuously perfecting and improving the reform of economic management introduced in 1968, and this is to be done in accordance with the specific situation of the time. This constant perfecting must be an organic development because neither the people's economy nor the population could absorb changes of an explosive kind.

[Question] This is the need for the simultaneous and continuous development of the economy and society through adaptation to the changes.

[Ovari] Yes indeed, and I would say that this must be an organic development and not a form of development full of disruptions and abrupt changes because we have already tried the latter, and it was not good enough.

[Question] All the same, there is also discussion of the fact that this process of reform extends to many other areas of society and of our lives. Indeed, I read a few days ago that a plan for reforming education is to be presented. You have spoken about the reform of the electoral system, so economic reform cannot be divided from other aspects of our life.

[Ovari] For my part I would caution against using the term reform to apply to everything, because in so doing we would discredit reform itself. We are dealing rather more with a continuous development and, as regards the case of education for instance, we have not announced a further reform following the Central Committee's discussion of this issue last year [word indistinct] schools also need a breathing space and the consolidation of the current situation.

As regards the electoral law, there again I would not speak in terms of reform but rather of an organic shaping that would preserve what has been tried and tested and also develop what needs to be done in accordance with present requirements. Thus I feel that socialist society can now put organic development on its agenda.

[Question] If I may put it this way, as Tamas Szecskoe has already mentioned here, it has been realized after a few years that particular decisions were incorrect, so we must speak about the connections between strategy and tactics. Moving beyond the information media, do you consider it necessary for strategic objectives to be altered in the more difficult external and internal conditions? I am asking you this because I would continue by saying that if the answer is no, how can we convince people who have been complaining of a loss of certainty and of being able to see the prospects during the course of last year?

[Ovari] Strategic objectives, which I could also term in a different way as our socialist aim, need not be changed. It may be worthwhile to have a separate discussion about socialist aims another time.

[Question] We will invite you for that, Comrade Ovari.

[Ovari] Thank you very much. So, the long-term objectives need not be changed. However, tactics and strategy cannot be separated from each other. These terms are borrowed from the military, and there, too, they cannot be separated; after all, tactics must always serve the final aim -- the winning of a war.

What is to be done? How are people to be convinced? People can be convinced in many different ways, through radio programs and agitation propaganda. However, without underestimating their importance, I would not stress these. People learn, first and foremost, from practice. Thus it is the continuous development of our socialist practice that can convince people. Naturally, this is not done from one day to the next, because time is required. I am confident, however, that time will prove the correctness of our original socialist aims.

YOUTH LEADER INTERVIEWED ON PEACE MOVEMENT

AU191329 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 14 May 83 p 5

[Sandor Ambrus interview: "Interview With Gyorgy Fejti, First Secretary of the KISZ Central Committee, on Youth, the KISZ, and the Desire of Youth for Peace"; date and place not given]

[Excerpt] [Question] Contemporary youth is often called the generation of peace, indeed, "a generation used to peace...."

[Answer] I do not like the phrase "a generation used to peace," although originally it did have a positive content. It expressed relief and joy over the fact that a whole generation was able to grow up in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence, enjoying all of its advantages. Today, however, the term is more and more frequently coupled with a resigned gesture and accompanied by an undertone that suggests that youth is unable to struggle and fight, to assume responsibility for peace and social progress.

I think, however, that the spectacular increase of the role of youth in the peace movements of the past years has given a resounding answer to those forming hasty judgments and to the doubters.

The deterioration of the international situation and the increase of the danger of war have caused concern also among Hungarian youth. We must regard the fact that more and more young people declare that they want to act personally and demonstratively for the peace of the country and the world as an indication of the sensitiveness and responsibility of youth and a concern for our achievements. This aspiration has become the motivating force for many useful initiatives, some of which are conducive to putting into effect our political endeavors as well. Admittedly, because of a lack of suitable historical experiences and international and military-political attainments at times some naive ideas arise. In this context, we must not fail to pay attention to the fact that hostile propaganda also tries to manipulate the natural desire of youth for peace. There are people at home who, lurking behind the slogan of peace, try to win young people for objectives at variance with the Hungarian people's interests.

We regard it as a task of the youth league to provide the scope and framework for youth's desire for peace and readiness to act, to help youth, through prompt and extensive information, to find its bearing in the truly extremely complex disarmament and military-politcal issues, and to filter out, in substantive discussions, mistaken and erroneous ideas. We do not conceal the fact that the foreign policy of the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic for peace, detente, and disarmament is the basis of our work. We strive for equality and equal security at the lowest possible level of armaments. We do not accept the false argumentation that the peace movement is only credible in the socialist countries if it regards itself as independent of government policy. We are of the opinion that the value of any peace movement is, in the final analysis, decided by whether its program, objective, and endeavor do or do not serve the creation of genuine guarantees for peace, whether or not -- instead of creating illusions -- it commits itself to the real world and a struggle on the side of the better cause, Gyorgy Fejti said in conclusion.

NEPSZABADSAG ON PLURALISM IN CULTURAL LIFE

AU191218 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 13 May 83 p 3

[Istvan Szerdahelyi article: "Culture and Democracy"]

[Text] In the corridor of an editorial office critics argue about the significance of a poet. One of them reasons and the rest listen with sarcastic smiles, then they bluntly ask him: "Do you not notice that nobody agrees with you?"

The case is symptomatic: In the most varied areas of cultural life, from the deliberations of artistic associations to the meetings of scientific bodies, we may come across the argument that the truth lies with the majority. And if we regard the viewpoints of practicability, this principle is easy to corroborate. Numerous situations arise where there is no time to postpone a decision until disputed issues are finally clarified, or, indeed, to leave them to the tribunal of history. Some temporary position must be adopted, feasible priorities must be established. There is really no other way at such a time: Only the majority opinion can indicate which view is likely to be supported by the more substantial arguments.

The Majority Cannot Always Decide

We must realize, however, that this practical solution is, at the same time, a solution one is obliged to adopt, because, in actual fact, the majority vote is no argument in the matter of either the scale of artistic values or scientific truths.

And what is involved here is not only the fact that, even today and even in our country, there are tensions between the democratization of culture (that is, making the values of culture common property) and cultural democracy (democratically satisfying cultural requirements): It would hardly be advisable to choose our country's writer prince -- if we had such a rank -- by plebiscite, because the most popular and the most valuable are by no means identical. Nor would we have more success with the votes of elite audiences or even experts.

According to the evidence of history, most prestigious bodies, academies, and committees have hooted down representatives of the truth who have been proclaimed individually or have represented the position of the minority, sometimes even resorting to banal idiocies. When Edison made it public in 1878 that he intended to make an electric light bulb, prominent experts of an investigating committee of the British Parliament concluded that his ideas did not warrant any practical or scientific attention, that the concept of electrical public illumination was a lunatic will-o'-the-wisp. And we should not delude ourselves that such things could only happen in the by-gone world. The Hungarian philosophical small lexicon published in 1970 declared with the same vocational certainty admitting of no doubt that "the position of Marxism is that ontology, as a separate philosophical branch of research, does not exist" -- at a time when Gyorgy Lukacs had largely completed writing his epochal work entitled "On the Ontology of Social Existence," in which he proved the opposite. (Even more peculiar is the fact that, following the publication of this work by Lukacs, the 1980 new edition of the lexicon -- which is on sale at our bookstores to this day -- left the passage denying Marxist ontology intact.)

The Rights of the Minority

It is therefore an indispensable prerequisite for the democracy of cultural life that the representatives of minority views also be enabled to state their position and argue in favor of their truths. It is all the more important to stress this because arguing with the majority is frequently a hazardous venture. Pierre Ramus, the great 16th-century humanist thinker, fought a battle with his pen against the professors of the Sorbonne -- until, under the threat of corporal punishment, they forbade him not only to continue the debate but also to read philosophical works in the future at all, and, indeed, even to reread the polemical treatises he himself had written. Such dangers do not threaten the participants in domestic exchanges of views today, but they are exposed to the danger that "the air freezes around them," their debating partners "disqualify" them through the majority vote, and they are left out of a board, jury, committee, and so forth. One need not necessarily die from this -- whereas Ramus' opponents had him killed on St. Bartholomew's night -- but to remain steadfast one does need a certain moral strength. And who has not had the experience of friends who share one's principles sitting silently with downcast eyes in the midst of the clamouring majority, which is expressing its protests with loud interruptions, showing that accepting an unpopular truth does not pay in the short term.

Of course, the situation is different in the long run: We regard Ramus as one of the greatest thinkers, while the names of the professors who spited him have long been forgotten. However, we should also realize that not even by listening to the greatest people can we be certain of coming closer to the full truth. Even intellectual giants have been capable of falling victim to enormous errors. Plato wanted to censure the epics of Homer, Voltaire and Tolstoy grossly underestimated Shakespeare's masterpieces, Hegel regarded the imperishable creations of Indian culture as obscene nightmares, and Gyorgy Lukacs labeled avantgarde art in its entirety as a symptom of the crisis of middle-class decadence -- the examples could go on at length. And this not only in the literary-artistic sphere, which is closely related to personal taste, but also in the world of the natural sciences and technology, a world regarded as so soberly objective and verifiable by calculations.

Until the day he died, Rutherford, one of the greatest atomic physicists, could only laugh at any idea of us ever being able to release nuclear energy -- and he would have only had to live 5 years longer to be present when the first chain reaction was set off in Chicago.

The Tolerance of the Deaf

However, if the question of artistic value and scientific truth and other similar questions cannot be decided by a plebiscite, by establishing the majority position, and if the most brilliant art experts and excellent scientific authorities are not oracles whose opinion we can follow without hesitation, the question is: Is there any reliable method at all for enabling us to settle such problems?

Recently, one has more and more often heard negative answers to this question, particularly in the world of the artistic sciences and criticism. Their proponents proceed from the undeniable fact that pluralism prevails in our social public awareness, including the spheres of vocational general opinion, that is, that diverse views exist side by side. However, they regard this as a fact that is settled once and for all and are of the opinion that there is indeed, no reason for changing it. These views are equally justified; they all contain some truth and it would be a futile effort, or harmful slogan disguising dictatorial intentions, to strive for the full truth.

This outlook seems to be an extremely democratic and tolerant one, an outlook seemingly patient toward the views of others, until we take a closer look. It then emerges that it suffers from the error of the outlook called, in a philosophical term, an agnostic one. If we regard the most diverse views, views that preclude each other, as equally true, then we regard every truth as entirely relative; that is, we deny the possibilities of human cognition. Besides, this patience suits even the most impatient clique spirit, the spirit that closes its ears to the ideas of outsiders, saying, let them keep harping on their own subjects, they do not deserve even so much attention that we should argue against them.

The roots of pluralist views can be traced back to the sixties in our country. At that time, philosophers professing to be disciples of Gyorgy Lukacs broached the idea that, since there are several unsettled disputed problems within Marxism -- which sometimes involve fundamental issues -- we must acknowledge that the Marxist system of ideas has also become pluralized, that it has indeed separated into several coequal trends, and that this is in order.

However, Gyorgy Lukacs himself had an entirely different opinion on this. As he expounded in his essay entitled "democratization today and tomorrow," written in the autumn of 1968, although it is a fact that Marxist theory became distorted and its development was restricted at the time of dogmatism and that these mistakes "can only be eliminated through protracted research and in objective debates on questions of principle of theory," this "inevitablity, which is bound to emerge, is discriminated against" by those who "speak of pluralism" within Marxism. "This is misleading," stressed Lukacs. The founding of a neopositivist thought manipulation can be pluralistic. Marxism knows only one correct answer to every question which corresponds to the objective truth. Of course, this is not born out of the resolutions of some authority, but has to be critically and precisely verified, in a critical manner, through research, analysis, and so forth, and in debates so that it frequently takes a long period of time before some truth can be generally acknowledged as such. However, this is the only path the communist movement can choose if it wants to obtain a footing on firm ground, the path of self-rectification, a rennaissance of Marxism.

Of course, the proponents of pluralism will probably deduce from this reasoning that it is an attack on the freedom of opinion and will identify the thesis that Marxism knows only one correct answer in one issue with theprinciple of "one sheepfold, one shepherd" -- one that does not tolerate any contradiction. However, the state of pluralism, the state of the existence of views that are mutually exclusive, is by no means identical with a state of freedom. A person is not free when he is free to believe, propagate, and commit any kind of stupidity, since coming up against the barriers of the laws of nature and society in this manner, he can live through his life as a captive of his own foolishness. The prerequisite for freedom is recognition of the true scale of values and genuine truths and, following from this, a divergence of views is not a goal in itslef, but an instrument for recognizing optimally complete truths. Divergent views are only useful as long as -- clarifying facts from another angle -- they help one expose the true situation as precisely as possible, but there is no need for them afterwards; striving for pluralism in the matter of two and two make four is not freedom, but obtuseness.

This can also be formulated by saying that the democratic development of cultural life does not need merely any kind of a divergence of views, but an exchange of views between positions capable of displaying well-founded arguments. Society does not profit in any way from self-centered pluralism, from us tolerating, with the patience of deaf ears, each other's views, from us looking upon the "free flow of ideas" with silent indifference, without a critical-refuting note. On the other hand -- as Lukacs has also stressed -- all the more useful is a debate leading to the only correct answer, a precise critical analysis of our ideas. The only reassuring method for resolving problems concerning the artistic scale of values and scientific concepts, and at the same time, the true guarantee for cultural democracy, is to have an exchange of views on the merits of an issue that answers arguments with arguments and that can learn from the arguments of an opponent as well, an exchange of views whose participants are compelled to hold their own in intellectual life through their more convincing reasoning and not the number of votes or the support of the arguments of authority.

CARDINAL CITED ON CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS

LD191317 Budapest MTI in English 1014 GMT 19 May 83

[All ellipsis and quotation marks as received]

Budapest, May 18 (MTI) -- The Hungarian television shot a one-hour portrait film on Cardinal Dr Laszlo Zekai, the archbishop and primate of Esztergom. The film entitled "The Trimmed Tree Turns Green" presents a picture of the life and ideas of Laszlo Lekai.

The title refers to Lekai's episcopal coat of arms depicting a green branch in a milk jug. The arms are designed to express the following idea: "After 1945 the church was heavily trimmed by the new power. It seemed that the church completely lost its financial background when church estates went into the ownership of the state or communities. And behold, believers have understood that the church is no longer the landowning church, but a church that has started a new life together with the believers which they too need and therefore they provided all material support to the church. This trimmed church has proved to be a viable church."

On the "new branches of the trimmed tree", the forms of activity of the church in the new situation, Cardinal Lekai stated: "As for religious instruction, state does not control instruction in church. It is up to the parents, whether they have their children attend religious instruction or not."

"In 1982 we had 40 new practising priests. We could speak only speak [as received] of a satisfactory future if we had at least as many new practising priests as died last year. At any rate, there is no obstacle in Hungary to entering the seminary.... Foreigners, who criticise us for many reasons, have never noticed and appreciated that we invite a guest professor from the Gregory University of Rome, the highest ranking papal Jesuit university, every year...and send priests to Rome to attend courses. It is a continuous circulation. It means that Hungarian Catholicism always has new sprouts.

"As a result of consultations with the state, we opened a correspondent [as received] at the university's theological faculty, with 450 men and women with certificate of maturity from the secondary school attending," continued Laszlo Lekai to enlist the 'new sprouts'. "A retreat house of the church at Leanyfalu is another nice sprout."

On religious life in the country the cardinal stated: "Church is neither dead nor fossiled, it is alive. Perhaps it is not as strong as it was and cannot take pride in such a great number of believers as in the past, because earlier before the church also wielded a form of power. For example, the church through the agency of teachers of religion and schoolmasters interfered into the life of subordinate students. Well, they attended mass which served other purposes as well. Nowadays, exclusively those people attend religious practices and mass, who seek the peace of the soul. The smaller number of church-goers and children sent to religious instruction, presumes self-consciousness and deeper feelings.

"The process of the trimmed tree turning green, the motto of the Hungarian church, has not happened overnight. It required talks and efforts of long years.... We used to say that it was a policy of small steps.... Reality has to be considered with a sober mind, and assessed what can be done at present and what in the next stage. The relation with the state results in a calm evolution," stated Cardinal Lekai on the relation of the state and church.

Answering a question on the cooperation possibilities of the state and church in practice, Cardinal Lekai stressed: "There is a great balance in Hungary, which cannot be found in every country. One of the main characteristic features of this balance is that every family has enough to eat. It is a characteristic example that the Hungarian state considers church monuments not merely Catholic or Protestant values, but Hungarian values. Therefore, the number of churches and church monuments, reconstructed by considerable state assistance since the liberation, amounts to over 300. It indicates that the relationship of the state and church is deeply rooted."

"Hungarian laws assure freedom of religion. Naturally, it is diverging in accordance to the various levels of authority. At the highest level... great understanding can be experienced. At medium-level, in counties and villages, conflicts occur sometimes.

On small Catholic communities in Hungary, the cardinal stated:

"The holy father mentioned these small communities in one of his speeches, when we all visited him. He said that our anxiety at the ideas of some small communities is justified. However, the holy father considers valuable this movement of young people, their joining the religious life. We are of the same opinion.... There are, however, such small communities, which have not yet started to work for the unity of Hungarian Catholicism. We wish to drive them back to the community but on the condition that they accept the guiding power of the hierarchy and respect the teaching authority of the church."

On the international relations of the Hungarian Catholic Church Cardinal Lekai stated:

"If you look at my visitors' book, you can find names from all over Europe and America. President Mitterrand, the Cypriot, the Portuguese and Austrian presidents have visited me. Forty priests of the Paderborn Diocese have recently visited Hungary to study Catholic life in the country. They told me that it was valuable to come here and study Catholic reality as they found a different life here from that they read about in their papers."

TANJUG: MINORITY ISSUE WITH ROMANIA REOPENED

AU191140 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1620 GMT 17 May 83

[Text] Budapest, May 17 (TANJUG) -- The Hungarian Literary Weekly ELET ES IRODALON has revived the Hungarian-Romanian polemic on the position of the Hungarian nationality in Romania. After the publication last year in Bucharest of a book by Ion Lancranjan and repeated reactions from Budapest in which the book was assessed as a "pamphlet and an insult" to the entire Hungarian nation it seemed that the polemic was concluded.

According to the Hungarian review of the book Lancranjan claims that Hungarians have been acting "aggressively" towards other nations throughout their entire history and existence in this region. This was assessed in Budapest as "evoking the ghosts" of nationalism.

Hungarian writer Mihaly Sukoso has now added a more bitter tone to the polemic saying that, with his claims of impossibility of coexistence between Romanians and Hungarians in Transylvania, the Romanian author actually advocates "drastic assimilation of Hungarians".

The Romanian author, it is said, even claimed that the "Hungarian irredentism" in Transylvania was encouraged by "persons" from Hungary to manifest its revendication more fiercely. This particular fact was most strongly denied by Hungary.

MAGYAR HIRLAP CITES POLITYKA J. URBAN REPORT

AU191417 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 15 May 83 p 2

[MTI report: "Situation Analysis by Jerzy Urban; Difficult, But by No Means Hopeless Years Await Poland"]

[Text] The line associated with Army General Jaruzelski's name is gaining more and more ground in Polish public awareness. It is due precisely to this that the internal political adversary supported from outside resorts to all possible means in its attempt to defend its remaining positions.

The appraisal comes from Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban, who furnished a concise analysis of the present situation in Poland in the latest issue of the weekly POLITYKA.

The domestic political situation is showing signs of a gradual consolidation. On 1 and 3 May, the underground opposition managed to mobilize only a negligible number of people, as compared with previous attempts to disturb order.

The first national congress of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON), which unequivocally proved that this movement is devoid of the formalism of the previous years and could truly become a platform of national accord, was a very important factor in the further development of events. The trade union movement, being built up from its foundations, and which, with regard to a few sectors, is on the verge of establishing countrywide organs, is gradually developing. In the opinion of responsible political figures, relations between the state and the church are developing basically well. Preparations are being made for the visit of Pope John Paul II to Poland in June.

The spirit of the economic reform is increasingly asserting itself. It emerges from a report issued by the Polish Central Bureau of Statistics on Saturday that, compared with the same period last year, the output of several industrial sectors, including the processing branches, increased considerably and productivity improved in the past 4 months. Agriculture is being provided with machinery, tools, and synthetic fertilizer considerably better than last year. The sowing of spring cereals and sugar beets was completed on schedule and the planting of potatoes is nearing an end.

Not only can the average person read of the results in statistics, he can see for himself day after day in the market, where there are ample vegetable and fruit supplies, there are sufficient bread, milk and milk products, and the sphere of commodities subject to the rationing system is diminishing constantly. However, as before, there is insufficient meat.

However, taken on the whole, nobody can deny the indubitable results that have been attained since the depth of the crisis. That is the reason for the underground opposition's wanting to take advantage of any existing problem, that is why it wants to justify "the reason for its existence" at any cost. And that is why it is so important that the party and state leadership have continued, since the announcement of the state of emergency, to speak consistently and openly about the country's difficulties and possibilities for a way out. They strive to make people aware of the fact, without embellishing the facts and making superfluous promises, that difficult, but by no means hopeless, years await them.

SARLOS MEETS WITH CPSU LEADERS ON CULTURAL TIES

For Moscow reportage on the visit by Istvan Sarlos, member of the MSZMP Politburo, to Moscow to attend the 19th session of the Soviet-Hungarian Intergovernmental Commission for Cultural Cooperation, including his meetings with Politburo candidate member Demichev and CPSU Secretary Zimyanin, see the Eastern Europe section of the 20 May Soviet Union DAILY REPORT.

LAZAR, ZIMBABWE'S MUGABE EXCHANGE TOASTS

LD182120 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 18 May 83

[Text] Hungary is ready to have closer relations with Zimbabwe, and in the interest of this is going to study the opportunities for making agreements in trade, technical sciences, and culture. This was stated by Premier Gyorgy Lazar during talks in the parliament building with Robert Mugabe, head of the Zimbabwean Government. Robert Mugabe, who arrived in our country today for official talks said that Zimbabwe wants to use Hungarian experiences in the development of its agriculture, in building up its cooperative movement, and in many other spheres of national construction. Several members of the two countries' governments took part in the official Hungarian-Zimbabwean talks.

Gyorgy Lazar and his wife gave a banquet in the evening at the parliament building in honour of Robert Mugabe and his wife. Speaking about international questions, the Hungarian premier pointed out in his toast that our country wants to contribute to the success of the struggle to preserve peace together with the other countries of the socialist community and the peace-loving forces of the world. We support the struggle against neocolonialism and racial discrimination; we condemn the South African Republic's aggression against the states of the region; we highly appreciate the fact that we are together with the government and people of nonaligned Zimbabwe in the struggle for peace, Premier Gyorgy Lazar stressed.

In reply Robert Mugabe confirmed that since achieving independence Zimbabwe is progressing systematically along the road of social and economic transformation. But its development is seriously hampered by the endless aggression of the South African regime in the whole southern Africa region. The Pretoria regime supports the sabotage actions which aim to halt the progress of Zimbabwe, to make impossible the achievement of economic independence, the Zimbabwean head of government stressed in his toast at the banquet in the parliament building.

PRC FINANCIAL, ECONOMIC EXPERTS PAY VISIT

AU171230 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 12 May 83 p 5

[MTI report: "Chinese Bank Delegation's Visit"]

[Text] At the invitation of Janos Fekete, first deputy president of the Hungarian National Bank, a delegation of Chinese financial experts has visited our country. The delegation was led by Liu Hongru, first vice president of the People's Bank of China. The Chinese experts studied the Hungarian economic macromanagement system and the role and activity of banks within it. They had talks on aspects of bilateral financial and bank relations. Matyas Timar, president of the Hungarian National Bank, had talks with the Chinese guests. Liu Hongru and the members of his entourage were received by Jozsef Marjai, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. Ma Lie, PRC ambassador in Budapest, was present. The delegation of the People's Bank of China left Budapest on Wednesday.

NEPSZABADSAG: PRC VICE FOREIGN MINISTER'S VISIT

AU200916 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 May 83 p 5

[MTI report: "Visit by Chinese Vice Foreign Minister"]

[Text] Vencel Hazi, deputy minister of foreign affairs, discussed timely international issues and Hungarian-Chinese relations with Chinese Vice Foreign Minister Qian Qichen, who visited our country 16-18 May. The Chinese vice foreign minister was received on a courtesy visit by Frigyes Puja, minister of foreign affairs.

WARSAW COMMENTARY ON DEATH OF STUDENT

LD191241 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 19 May 83

[Marek Lewicki commentary]

[Text] The death of 19-year-old Grzegorz Przemyk, graduate of the Fryc Modrzewski Lyceum in Warsaw, is a tragedy which provokes feeling of profound sadness and sympathy for his family and closest friends. He died as a result of internal injuries, and the circumstances which have so far been established point to the assumption that these injuries were the result of a beating. It is thus understandable that in this matter regret and sadness are linked with categoric demands to explain the whole truth, regardless of what it might prove to be.

The communique issued by the voivodship prosecutor's office, and the information contained in it that the investigations -- which are being personally conducted by the public prosecutor under the supervision of the General Prosecutor's Office -- are also attended by a lawyer authorized by the mother of the deceased, point to the fact that everything is being done to discover the full truth about the causes of Grzegorz Przemyk's death; and to find, apprehend, and punish the perpetrators -- if there are any. The investigations, vigorous and uncompromising, continue.

Bitterness is inspired by the fact that there are people who are trying to make this tragedy into a political sensation. Western agencies and radio stations -- without investigation or trial -- have already pointed to the perpetrators, and are publishing the verdict that have given. And if they are wrong? They do not even ask themselves the question as to whether in this way they may be helping the so far undiscovered guilty party or parties avoid punishment. Because, basically, it is not the truth they are interested in, but exploiting this issue as an argument in the political game which has been conducted for years.

It would be very bad indeed if we succumbed to the lynch-law atmosphere being stirred up by the West; if we -- in the face of this real tragedy -- allowed ourselves to be seized by a feeling of one-sided anger. We are living in times of great tension which we can overcome only with reason and -- let us speak plainly -- confidence in the law and the legal manner of its execution.

I am deeply convinced that, without anyone's advice, the truth about the tragic death of Grzegorz Przemyk will be discovered and revealed -- the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

SIWICKI, BARYLA ATTEND REGA-83 NAVAL EXERCISES

LD191842 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 19 May 83

[Text] Naval exercises codenamed Rega-83 are in progress. One of the phases of these exercises envisages the immediate evacuation by all ships of the naval port of Gdynia-Oksywie. Qualifications are being improved at all levels of command in naval units. The results of the exercises to date show a good knowledge of fighting techniques and the capacity for rational and economical use of time and means.

The exercises were attended by deputy ministers of national defense, chief of the General Staff General Florian Siwicki and chief of the Main Political Administration Lieutenant-General Jozef Baryla. The exercises are continuing.

CARDINAL JOZEF GLEMP RETURNS FROM VATICAN

LD191547 Warsaw PAP in English 1609 GMT 19 May 83

[Text] Warsaw 19 May -- Poland's primate Cardinal Jozef Glemp returned to Warsaw after his four-day visit to the Vatican. In a statement for journalist made at Warsaw airport Cardinal Glemp said that the preparations for the oncoming visit of Pope John Paul II to Poland proceed in accordance with the plan.

Interviewed on Return

LD192034 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 19 May 83

[Text] The delegation of the Episcopate of Poland led by the primate, Cardinal Jozef Glemp, has returned to Warsaw from Rome. At Okecie Airport the delegation was welcomed by head of the Office for Religious Affairs Minister Adam Lopatka and by members of the Episcopate. The Polish clergymen met with Pope John Paul II in the Vatican on a number of occasions. They also took part in the celebration of the 63d birthday of the Holy Father.

Our reporter interviewed Cardinal Jozef Glemp:

[Begin recording] [question] As is known, the program for the visit of the Holy Father to Poland has already been made public; nevertheless, one still hears that the visit may be canceled. What does the primate think?

[Answer] I do not know any such pessimists. It is unlikely, completely unlikely.

[Question] And how was the trip to Rome and the Vatican?

[Answer] I think it was very (?helpful). We had talks with the holy father. I feel that the atmosphere is good. The holy father is already living and breathing Poland and has an understanding of the situation. Therefore I am full of optimism. [end recording]

A reporter asked the primate about the meaning of the Pope's visit: [Begin recording] I think that a successful visit to Poland will be of immense importance, both for the homeland and simply for the sentiments in Europe, too, as we are constantly under the influence of harmful emotions. When one is under the influence of emotions this is not always rational. We should resolve the crisis in a rational way. [end recording]

More on Interview

LD192058 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 19 May 83

["Excerpts" of interview given to correspondent Ewa Heine by Polish Primate Jozef Glemp at Okecie Airport 19 May on his return from Rome -- recorded]

[Text] [Glemp] I feel that the atmosphere is good. [passage indistinct] I am full of optimism. I think that if we prepare the visit well, and we are preparing it both from the organizational and pastoral side, with the recognition and cooperation of social and state elements, I think that this will be an expression of some kind of a joint reception by the nation of it's great son. And thus the fruits should be positive.

[Question] Yesterday was the birthday of Pope John Paul II and the anniversary of the battle of Monte Cassino.

[Answer] Yes, yes.

[Question] How did the delegation of the Polish Episcopate participate?

[Answer] We reminded the holy father, anyway he remembered the two anniversaries. He was pleased. Not just we but others, too, presented their wishes, including in the square during the audience and separately, too. This was very pleasant.

[Question] And Monte Cassino?

[Answer] One of the bishops went, but unfortunately I could not. There was no time [passage indistinct] it is difficult to foresee. I think that a successful visit to Poland will be of immense importance both for the homeland and for sentiments in Europe, as we are all both for the homeland and for sentiments in Europe, too, as we are all the time under the influence of harmful emotions. When one is under the influence of emotions this is not always rational.

CHURCH-STATE COOPERATION FOR POPE'S VISIT

LD191417 Warsaw International Service in English 2230 GMT 18 May 83

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] A comment on the planned June visit of Pope John Paul II to his native Poland, the program of which has just been announced:

Preparations for this visit, opening on 16 June, have been under way for a long time both by the state authorities and the Roman Catholic Episcopate. There was a close collaboration in these preparations, the fruit of which is the just published detailed program of the pope's second pilgrimage to Poland. It follows from the communique that the details have been approved by the pontiff.

There has been a great deal of speculation in the West over this visit, with doubts being cast on whether it would take place and on its desirability. The Western writers also (?sought) a disparity in the attitudes of the government and the Episcopate. The communique setting out the details puts an end to these speculations since it reaffirms the consistent standpoint of the Polish Government on the desire to host the pontiff in his native country. This view was expressed, for instance, by Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski earlier this month in his speech to the National Congress of the Patriotic Movement for National Revival [as heard], who said that in June the head of the Vatican state, the pontiff of the Roman Catholic church, a native of Poland, would be warmly greeted on Polish soil with due honors and respect.

In that speech, the prime minister accentuated the state and religious character of the papal visit. Indeed, this visit is of major importance from the viewpoint of the interests of the nation, the state, and of the church. (?Expressed) has been the desire, as evidenced by the invitation extended to the pope by the chairman of the Council of State, Professor Henryk Jablonski, that the visit should contribute to a national accord and the strengthening of relations between the state and the church.

The consultations held between the government and the Episcopate have resulted in the reaching of a common stand on the date of the pope's arrival and on the program of the visit. This is an indication that relations between the state and the church are good. This also confirms the view that it is possible to speak at present of a progressing normalization between the state and the church and even of certain elements of cooperation.

The Roman Catholic Episcopate in Poland has viewed with appreciation the efforts of the government to create the proper conditions for the pope's pilgrimage to Poland. This was stated by Primate Jozef Glemp on his arrival in Rome on the 17th of this month who said that the state authorities wished to welcome the pope worthily, and Cardinal Glemp said also that there is no danger of the pope's visit to Poland being called off.

In other words, the pilgrimage of Pope John Paul II to Poland is becoming a fact, reaffirmed also by the just published communique setting out the details of the program.

PAP INTERVIEWS PRON CHAIRMAN DOBRACWYNSKI

LD191335 Warsaw PAP in English 1116 GMT 19 May 83

[Text] Warsaw 19 May -- Below are excerpts from an interview which the chairman of the National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON) and noted Catholic writer, Jan Dobracwynski, has granted PAP:

Q. - Do you think that the PRON Congress will have an influence on the moods of Polish society?

A. - The congress already has effected a change of social moods. People who until recently have kept aloof are now joining the movement, and we are receiving enthusiastic letters from ordinary people.

Q. - How in your opinion can the movement win over more young people for PRON's activities?

A. - The only road to win over people is through showing them the effects of work.

Q. - How does PRON envision practical continuation of a dialogue between diverse social and political groups?

A. - PRON will try to act as mediator between social groups and the authorities provided both sides agree to such a proposal. The government side has reiterated that it was ready to seek such mediation. Thus, the decision lies with the social groupings, in the first place. But PRON's activity also includes consultations, intervention and participation in every undertaking aimed at raising the standard of social morality, protection of the family, child care and struggle for spiritual and physical health, among other things.

Q. - How, in your opinion, does PRON's nation-wide role as a platform for work toward national accord fit in with the leading role of the Polish United Workers Party?

A. - We have said it time and again that accord assumes the existence of certain imponderables, one of which is recognition of the leading role of the PUWP. But, recognizing the leading role of the PUWP, PRON reserves the right to express its opinions if controversial matters should occur.

Q. - How do you see the role and place of PRON in the country's overall socio-political life in the future?

A. - If national accord materializes quickly, the role of mediator will be small and may become superfluous. Then the movement would limit its activity to work towards moral rebirth. If resistance continues, the role of mediator will remain as an important one, but also then the movement will be concerned above all with moral rebirth, for the nation cannot be conceivably won over without lifting it and without continuously raising the standard of moral and ethical life.

BUDAPEST INTERVIEWS JARUZELSKI ADVISER GORNICKI

LD200535 Budapest Domestic Television Service in Hungarian 1915 GMT 19 May 83

[From the "Panorama" program]

[Text] We now turn to Eastern Europe or, to be more exact, to one of the most sensitive points in East-West relations: Poland. The PZPR Central Committee has been convened for 31 May. According to the agenda it will be discussing how the country's social, economic, and domestic security situation has developed since the suspension of martial law.

Andras Sugar has held a conversation about Poland's most topical questions and the developments to be expected with Major Wieslaw Gornicki, personal adviser to Premier Jaruzelski. The 52-year old journalist and politician was PAP's New York correspondent for 5 years. His book about the United States and the Soviet Union and his series of reports on these countries have aroused interest. He has traveled to more than 30 countries and speaks English, Russian, and German. At the introduction of martial law he held the rank of captain and spokesman of the Military Council.

[Begin recording] [Question] Major, you are the adviser to Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers, first secretary of the PZPR, and minister of defense. What does this mean in practice? On what questions does Wojciech Jaruzelski confer with you? To what degree can you influence events?

[Answer -- in Polish with superimposed Hungarian translation] Well, the question is complicated and I am forced, as we say in Poland, to start out from a safe corner.

The office of adviser in our political system -- I mean not only Poland but all socialist countries -- is a relatively new concept. U.S. presidents have had advisers for about the past 30 years and the French presidents for 20 years. However, the CPSU general secretary's advisory service, for example, goes back only 2 years. Mine is simply an official function in the office of the Council of Ministers. I am adviser to the premier and the fact that the premier is simultaneously the party's first secretary is naturally a temporary solution. For this reason I can give a very brief answer to the question. I am morally responsible for everything that my office is doing. On the other hand, my actual influence on decisions -- formally, of course -- is minimal, if it exists at all.

[Question] You know Jaruzelski's way of thinking well and we are interested also in your opinion as to whether you are satisfied with the pace of consolidation in Poland. In December 1981, at the introduction of martial law, did you plan a pace like the present one or did you reckon it would go faster?

[Answer] I can give an affirmative answer to this. The consolidation has in fact progressed faster than we expected, as far as the basic social stratum, the workers and peasants, are concerned. I know that this statement could surprise many Hungarian listeners because Western propaganda, surpassing itself, is proclaiming that matters stand differently. But facts speak for themselves. This is proven also by participation in the May Day parades. True, this is not a closed or completed process in these strata either but it is difficult to hide that in intellectual circles. Among university students, and especially among creative intellectuals, this process is not developing as fast as we should like.

[Question] Is the forthcoming visit of Pope John Paul II a factor in consolidation? Steam is building up now under the roof as if in a high-pressure vessel. But what will happen after the pope's visit? Maybe a further explosion?

[Answer] Well, you know that now you have put me in a really delicate position and for two reasons. First, because I should be able to see into the future, and this a reasonable man, whatever his official function, must avoid at any event; he must be cautious. On the other hand, you want me to know with what mission the pope is coming and what he wants to say, Pope Karol Wojtyla, in Poland. I tell you sincerely that I do not know. There are grounds for some suppositions. For example, I was in Nicaragua not long ago and I shall not conceal that I have come back from there with rather disturbing experiences.

[Question] Were you there during the pope's visit?

[Answer] Yes. Karol Wojtyla, for various complicated reasons, took a stance against the liberation movement there which is not a communist movement at all. Now, I cannot know with what vision, what ideas he is coming and to what he wants to summon the Poles. He is a man, according to experiences so far, who does not heed the words of the very clever men of the Vatican curia. They are conversant with politics. They will not easily make mistakes, their experiences go back 2,000 years. Nevertheless, I can express the hope that at least from one point of view something will happen that I would call harmonization, a kind of spiritual consonance between the stance of the Primate of Poland Cardinal Glemp and the method of viewing things represented by the pope.

You have asked the question somewhat sceptically, but I wonder whether scepticism is right here because there is much truth in the simile of steam straining the boiler. However, two things can be done. One can clamp down the lid so fast and increase steam pressure so as to make the lid blow off, but one can also lift the lid a little, reducing thereby the risk of explosion.

[Question] The AP news agency writes from Warsaw that there is a group among those in power which opposes the pope's pilgrimage to Poland. Is this true?

[Answer] My dear sir, whatever ASSOCIATED PRESS writes must be divided by two and the two divided by zero although division by zero is banned in mathematics. U.S. agencies have established a record with their dispatches from Poland, a record. I have been a journalist for 33 years. I know what I'm talking about: dishonesty, faulty and false interpretations, lies, suppressions, and alterations in record proportions. For this reason I have no respect whatever left for them. This example which you mentioned is especially suggestive. There are no groups among those in power, therefore neither in the party apparatus nor in the government machinery, which oppose this visit.

[Question] Let us return to domestic consolidation in Poland. When will it be possible to withdraw martial law completely? When will the conditions for this arrive?

[Answer] Well, this does not depend only on us. I would even say that at present it does not depend upon us at all. I can say frankly that two conditions are necessary. The first is the satisfactory progress of normalization which means that every 14-year old boy who suddenly chooses to throw stones at the police should not necessarily be restrained by the police. Let the atmosphere and the underground activity which incites them to do this cease. Boys of this sort, of course, do not engage in politics on their own. The other condition is to finally overcome the current most difficult critical stage of the economic situation.

[Question] In your opinion, is Lech Walesa really only a private individual and do you not see any possibility in the future of Walesa participating in the country's political life?

[Answer] Yes, he is first of all a private individual, but I would add a qualification: a vexatious private individual who has lost his sense of proportion somewhat. This is a man -- how should I say this so that I respect my official function and the necessary courtesy and also frankness?

[Question] Be sincere.

[Answer] Well, he is a man who has a little too large an idea about himself and very often does not notice the very thin line which separates the ridiculous from the occupation of some sort of political function. He is a man who is capable, for example, of threatening the government or, let me say, of threatening the Soviet Union! He is a man who very often babbles. I use this word in an offensive sense because, for example, he gave an interview to a West German weekly, the BUNTE ILLUSTRIERTE, in which he regretted how much the Germans suffered in World War II. Well, I do not see that it should be a Pole who gets concerned about this unless he is a historian. But he is a private individual. I believe that Walesa did have some chance to play a constructive role. I do not exclude either -- and I use the word intentionally -- that he will come to reason and then this possibility may remain. Currently my answer is definitely no. If Mr Walesa says that if nobody negotiates with him -- besides who should negotiate with him and on what basis -- he will join the underground movement, then this is the sort of threat which people's power can ignore only if it takes a magnanimous view.

Walesa has made some statements which also have been partly publicized in the West and which show Walesa himself in a rather disagreeable light. At any rate, this is one of the biggest manipulations of Western propaganda because our governemnt's press spokesman, Minister Urban, who is well-known for his pointed and sharp jokes, said not long ago that it happens only rarely that the U.S. Government should make statements weekly in the case of a certain Polish citizen. I cannot see very well that the sworn enemy of the U.S. trade union movement, President Reagan, who finally threw the leaders of the air traffic controllers' trade union who called the strike in jail, who is well-known as an ultrareactionary in his domestic policy, well, that this man should suddenly get enamored with a Polish trade union leader.

[Question] How do you plan to further develop the national economy? Do you think to collectivize agriculture in Poland or to reform agriculture?

[Answer] Now, look. Concerning the last part, agriculture, I should like to evade the answer simply because I am not an economist.

The situation in Polish agriculture is known to be very complicated. Many mistakes were made also in 1956 and in addition -- why should we mince words -- the Polish peasant is, well, at a lower level of civil consciousness than the Hungarian peasant. Now why should I say something which reality may deny later? It is enough to see the supplies in the Hungarian shops, enough to see how your cooperatives are functioning to conclude that this is really a better solution. But this can succeed only in a concrete case in a given society.

[Question] But all this is due to the cooperative movement.

[Answer] This is obvious. We have no immediate plans for collectivization. There cannot be any and it would not be right even right now. On the other hand, it cannot be disputed that our aim -- and not some distant aim for the 21st century -- must be a form of cooperatives which coordinate the higher interest of efficiency of national economic sector, sufficient food production, and the individual interests of the peasants.

We began to implement the economic reform last year. We have borrowed some elements from the Hungarians. In the meantime, we are perhaps not the only socialist country which is looking at you with sincere interest and even admiration and we see with sincere envy that you have succeeded, that things are working, that you have been pragmatic, clever, and farsighted. But it is also a fact that such an immense economic change, introduced in such a short time, under the worst initial conditions -- when we have in fact nothing -- would of necessity lead to confusion and chaos.

As far as the economic sphere is concerned, I am optimistic. Poland is rich enough and has many kinds of raw materials. It has its own energy basis and is a country which 10 years or so ago was doing rather well in foreign trade. Subjective faults must naturally be repaired and corrected, but this of course can be done and is possible. [end recording]

RZECZYWISTOSC URGES RETURN TO LENINIST IDEOLOGY

AU191320 Warsaw RZECZYWISTOSC in Polish 15 May 83 pp 1, 4

[Boleslaw Porowski article: "An Ideological Offensive -- an Essential Condition"]

[Text] Almost 2 years have passed since the Ninth PZPR Congress. Important events in our social and political lives have taken place during this stormy period: profound reforms have been undertaken, martial law was introduced and suspended, the trade unions were dissolved and new trade union structures were created from the very bottom, some artistic associations were dissolved or suspended, workers' self-management bodies have been suspended and reactivated -- these are just some of the facts.

One ought to notice, however, that there are also antisocialist centers active on the sociopolitical scene which are animating and inspiring certain events regardless of the progressing normalization in the country. It is enough to mention the boycott on the new trade unions, the street scuffles and demonstrations, and so on. So it will not be inappropriate to recall the presence of forces which, although they do not openly act against the antisocialist state, are still forcing through their own concept for transformations for our country, an alternative ideological option to Marxist ideology with all that is politically connected with this. A glaring example of this is the record number of religious buildings that have been built, a number that is justified neither by the country's economic capabilities nor by the needs of society.

Besides being faced with deliberate actions, teleological actions as educated people say, we are also faced with phenomena and processes which are not started or inspired by any political groups. I have in mind, for example, the still continuing wave of speculation, social parasitism, and so on.

All this coincides with the fact that the U.S. Government teams and the governing teams in the remaining key capitalist countries have given up the peaceful policy of coexistence in favor of a modified and modernized version of the anticommunist crusade. Today they have launched an all-out attack embracing all the more important spheres of life -- economics, politics, ideology, and culture -- supported by a forced arms race and a threat of military confrontation. I will remind those who are of "little faith" about the economic restrictions that have been applied against our country, the open meddling in our domestic affairs, the breaking of scientific and cultural cooperation, and the plans to deploy intermediate-range missiles in Western Europe, which could upset the balance of forces -- the natural basis for peace in the world. The influence of these actions on the development of events in our country is obvious, but it is not always noticed and not by everyone. It is often played down in fact, especially the increased activity of Western centers of political and ideological subversion. In my opinion all this activity is without foundation. The Washington administration will not spend over a hundred billion dollars on just anything. Director Najder [head of Radio Free Europe's [RFE] Polish section] and his team are not in a position to achieve a counterrevolutionary upheaval in Poland, but his role is increasing at the same rate as the power of the reactionary groups in Poland. On the other hand, the effectiveness of the activities of the antisocialist groups would be considerably smaller and the range of the activities narrower without the backing of this powerful Western subversive apparatus. Thanks to this, even L. Walesa's tax declaration which he made at a fiscal office is becoming a political event. RFE listeners know very well how actively and how often the radio station has been agitating them to take part in counterdemonstrations and street disturbances organized on 1 and 3 May. There is even a surfeit of proof showing, for example, that RFE transmits both subversive material and organizational instructions from the anticommunist centers under whose influence Polish reaction has been from the beginning of people's authority in Poland right up to today.

For the party is not the only initiator of social, political, or economic processes and phenomena, and I do not think it has ever been the only one. This is even more true today when it is overcoming its internal troubles and ideological fluctuations with difficulty. Nevertheless, society's criticism and dissatisfaction are most frequently aimed at the party alone. Often, the real initiators of the actions aimed against the workers and even against the people remain in the shadows or successfully pretend they are the "friends of the people."

The question arises at this point. Why is it happening like this? Why has the party not revealed and shown in a convincing way whose fault it is, since Marxism-Leninism's capabilities make it possible to separate the wheat from the chaff in the most appropriate way? One has to look for the answer to this question not only in the present, but also in the past, when eclectic marriages of bourgeois theories with Marxism were made by the social sciences according to "revisionist rites" and when peaceful coexistence was identified with ideological unification. This removal of Marxism from the social sciences, the decay of ideological life within the party, and the emergence of disputes between Marxists and non-Marxists was, in my opinion, also one of the basic causes of the party's drama after August 1980.

The party's weakening has been and is still being mercilessly exploited by its ideological and political opponents.

The exceptionally strong expansion of non-Marxist ideological trends is noticeable, especially the spread of Catholicism. One can sometimes even gain the impression that Marxist ideology has been forced to take the defensive. A paradoxical situation has even arisen where it is difficult to come across polemics with the opponents of Marxism-Leninism in the columns of the press which, despite everything, carries the slogan "Proletarians of the World, Unite!" and where one does encounter this ideology in the columns of other periodicals which disapprove of it. Although renowned authors tend to disdain sectarianism, they are already sharply reacting to any criticism of revisionism and opportunism. In a word, they think up an alternative conflict, so that they can calmly implement their policy of laying down their arms in the face of the expanding bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologies. Professional Marxists do not behave any differently. For example, is it not ridiculous that a learned man who was a revisionist years ago today defends the values of Marxism as one of many? Of course, he defends Marxism from his own revisionist point of view. As a result, wide sections of society are being more and more frequently condemned to assessing and evaluating the angle of events and processes and to discovering their causes and effects based on intuition, or examining the expansive ideological systems which remain in opposition to Marxism-Leninism. This situation, besides its numerous implications, naturally causes an undesirable type of involvement by people which forms a barrier to any progress in socialist construction but encourages ideological subversion.

All these circumstances are placing party members in a difficult position, more than anyone else. Party members are the first people to complain at the lack of success in implementing reform policy and the program for overcoming the crisis, whether it is the party's fault or not. And it does not surprise me at all that party members, and "nonparty Bolsheviks" as well , are waiting for the 12th Central Committee plenum with great impatience. I gain the impression from what journalists have been writing that the expectations are great, and maybe a little too great. For it seems that party members are counting on the fact that the most important party gathering in between congresses will clearly state its stance toward everything going on in the country and the world; will present a class analysis of the social, political and ideological phenomena and processes that are taking place; will summarize the party's experience in implementing the ninth congress program; will explain the motivations behind the decisions which have been made and which are causing strong disputes and controvesy; and -- what I consider is most important -- will bring into practice the useful knowledge to be gained from Marxist-Leninist analysis. In other words, the 12th plenum is expected to clearly make the party regain its offensive position toward all the trends that are ideologically alien to it and supply the party with new arguments that are essential in the struggle for social consciousness.

It may then turn out that wide sectors of society will observe what is happening, with the help of the party, and will answer the following question themselves: who is who, whom and what does he serve, whom and what does he represent, and at what is he aiming? All this is on condition that the party manages to widely publicize class criteria while informing people about what is progressive and what is regressive. This is no doubt an exceedingly difficult task, for it depends on throwing out the old and deeply embedded schemes of thinking, destroying the old myths which are now being presented in a new packaging, and so on. I am convinced that this arduous work will come in very useful to the party and the cause which the party serves.

Why am I laying such great emphasis on this issue? Above all because the anticommunist circles are using all means to convince society that Marxism-Leninism is already out of date and has lost its vigor. In exchange, these circles are putting forward all kinds of old theories in an increasingly refined and subtle form.

It was necessary for this purpose to transform the justified criticism of the errors committed by the Gierek team into total condemnation of the entire achievement of People's Poland, discredit the universal truths of socialist construction and replace them with a "Polish model of socialism" (which has nothing to do with taking national interests into consideration), and really to lead our country onto a nonsocialist road of development. It was necessary to put forward the concept of "political pluralism" and present a system of party cooperation and a "free battle of forces", in order to weaken the leadership position of the workers' class, and to deprive the workers' class party of its leadership role among society and of its influence in shaping state policy and on the selection of leadership cadres. It was necessary to discredit the Leninist principles and norms of internal party life in order to make it easier to turn the party into a federation of discussion clubs and in this way reduce its political and ideological influence to a minium. Whoever tries to defend Leninist values is often accused of being a dogmatist, a conservative and an opponent of renewal. Any meritorious arguments have not the slightest meaning; the classification of people is carried out according to the following slogan which is very eloquent but does not have anything in common with democratism: "Whoever is not with us is against us." In one widely read weekly, an attempt was even made to put forward a nonsense theory which says that the roots of conservatism lie in primitive psychologism. A well-known writer of feuilletons has shown that people who are mature and informed are characterized by conservatism whereas ignorant people are capable of freeing themselves from its chains. The clear conclusion: People who are informed should be removed so that the ignorant people can be manipulated freely.

The authors and publicizers of these theories are aware that everything that is shiny and new is only precious to children and ignorant people. However, knowledgeable people and those who are too politically mature to heed values that are only apparent cannot be taken in so easily; they make an honest assessment of every new idea, undertaking, and view to see what its results and consequences will be from the point of view of the current and long-term interests of working people. For it is only on this basis that one can establish suitable criteria which make it possible to announce what is progressive and what is conservative or reactionary. This method of probing making it easy to find a credible answer to the question: Does everything that is new bring a certain goal nearer, or does it lengthen the road to this goal? If it brings the goal nearer, how much nearer?

The importance of this way of thinking is making itself clearly visible on the political forum, for example, during the situation where social conflicts are arising which are often the result of a loss of perspective concerning social progress.

It is this point of view which should dominate during any kind of analysis and assessment made of the phenomena occurring in life, during the solving of problems and the setting out of goals, and during the introduction of reforms and modifications.

For it is the party's political and moral duty to define these criteria, bring them systematically up to date and, above all, heed them while policy is being planned and implemented.

The situation inside the party may be and should be assessed in the light of these criteria, and in the light of these criteria an answer can be given to the question: What does the slogan "The party is the same party today but not the same way it used to be" mean today? It means, among other things, that the party should be capable of effectively giving life to the role of the workers' class and of the other strata of working people, and that it is directing its efforts toward implementing the goals which suit these people's interests.

If we admit that one of the main reasons behind the crisis was a punishable departure from the principles of socialist construction and from the Leninist norms of internal party life, then after all the painful experience the party has lived through, it must heed these principles and norms with iron consistency and implement them ruthlessly. I believe that making such use of the experience of the revolutionary movement gives hope that the workers' class will become convinced that the party is not only able to "apply revolutionary consciousness to the masses", but also to "learn something from the masses." This is strictly connected with the entire party's level of ideological preparedness.

During the past decade, a great wave of people joined the party, including many young people who were not even required to know the rudiments of scientific socialism. They were deprived of participation in the justified ideological and political disputes, and after August 1980 they were subject to strong pressure from Solidarity and from ideologists and propagators of nonsocialist streams. Discussions on methods of action, on how to implement goals, and on how to solve discrepancies are required in the party. However, unity as to ideological principles is compulsory in a Leninist party. The party's strength is inherent in this unity, and this is the source of its ideological fighting spirit. Failing to heed or tolerating any phenomena which weaken this unity gives strength to the party's opponents and removes the party's chance of fulfilling the obligations that it has taken upon itself toward the workers' class. Also for these reasons, the party should not neglect the shortcomings that exist in the ideological training of its members, and it should not tolerate ideologically alien trends, especially opportunism and revisionism, in its ranks. Experience teaches that dogmatism and sectarianism must be controlled, but revisionism and opportunism must be ruthlessly combated. Revisionism's antisocialist nature makes itself felt particularly when its supporters gain real influence on party policy. For it is no coincidence that revisionists find themselves sooner or later in the same boat as declared opponents of socialism.

SOLIDARITY HITS REGIME'S 'FASCIST METHODS'

PM200900 Paris LE MONDE in French 20 May 83 p 7

[Bernard Guetta dispatch: "Solidarity's Clandestine Leaders Condemn 'Argentinian Development' in Repression"]

[Excerpts] Warsaw -- The funeral of young Grzegorz Przemyk, who died of internal abdominal injuries on Saturday 14 May, 40 hours after being detained at a police station, was to be held in Warsaw early in the afternoon of this Thursday 19 May.

In addition to the very strong emotion felt in all circles, this death has caused great anxiety among trade union members. Speaking of a "bestial crime having all the characteristics of premediated murder," the clandestine leaders of Solidarity's Warsaw organization, for instance, have just called on not only their members and "all people of good will," but on "those who publicly support the dictatorship" to express "general condemnation."

"Your silence," they say to the regime's supporters, "would now amount to showing that you are accomplices of crime and accept its permanent presence in our society's life."

This solemn tone reflects a deep fear of seeing the repression become much fiercer in the future than it has been hitherto. Although beatings after arrests are commonplace, and although many victims have already fallen during the demonstrations organized since the introduction of martial law, this is the first time that somebody arrested in perfect health and outside any confrontation on the streets has been handed back to his family in a hopeless condition.

The trade unionists are also convinced, rightly or wrongly that the young Grzegorz Przemyk was deliberately arrested and beaten in this way in order to intimidate his mother, a member of the opposition, and, through her, the "primate's committee" for aid to detainees of which she is a member. Whether this death was intended or whether it was a "blunder," they see it as the sign of the beginnings of the organization of terror, which, even if it remains selective, would nonetheless mark a turning point. Many of them have no hesitation in talking of an "Argentinian development" and predicting the physical elimination of opponents to whom, according to them, the government does not want to offer the publicity of trials whose legal foundations would be difficult to define.

While not going that far, the trade union's clandestine Warsaw leadership says in its declaration dated Monday and issued Wednesday that "the government's fascist methods are becoming an element of everyday Polish reality."

USSR'S SHALAYEV VISITS KATOWICE VOIVODSHIP

LD192344 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 19 May 83

[Katowice correspondent (Slawomir Herman) report]

[Text] Stepan Shalayev, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet and chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU], today paid a friendly visit to Katowice Voivodship. This morning he visited the Czerwone Zablebie coal mine in Czeladz. A meeting took place with the miners' union organization. The Soviet guest was also received today by Zbigniew Messner, member of the party Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the PZPR voidvodship committee. The next stop on the visit was the Bobrek steelworks in Bytom. There a meeting took place with trade unionists from several of the work enterprises in Bytom. Representatives of the Miechowice and Bobrek coal mines and of the Zygmunt steelworks took part. An exchange of experience took place and the Soviet guest also replied to questions from Polish unionists. Following the meeting in the Bobrek steelworks, I asked Stepan Shalayev, chairman of the AUCCTU, to make a brief statement.

[Begin recording in Russian with superimposed Polish translation] We acquainted ourselves with great interest with the production of the industrial enterprises of your voivodship and with the work of the workforces and also with the process going on at the moment, now that new union organizations have come into being. I would say that it was the activity of the new trade unions rather than the fact of their formation that has made an enormous impression on me. It emerges from the information we acquired during the meetings with workers and unionists that their activity is already very broad and serves above all to consolidate their union organizations, to increase the numbers of their members, simply in the interest of working people. We wish them every success in this work. I would like to avail myself of the opportunity to convey most cordial greetings and best wishes to all radio listeners from the working people of the Soviet Union.

OLSZOWSKI RECEIVES USSR FOREIGN MINISTRY GROUP

LD192226 Warsaw PAP in English 2024 GMT 19 May 83

[Text] Warsaw 19 May -- A delegation of the Foreign Ministry of the USSR, headed by director of the 4th European Department Mikhail Deyev, has paid a working visit to Warsaw. The delegation was received by member of the PUWP CC Political Bureau, Minister for Foreign Affairs Stefan Olszowski. Present were Poland's Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs Henryk Jaroszek and the Soviet Ambassador to Poland Boris Aristov.

'RUMOR' OF POPE'S LETTER TO BREZHNEV DENIED

LD191950 Warsaw International Service in English 1200 GMT 19 May 83

[Text] In less than a month from now Pope John Paul II will be arriving here for a week-long religious pastoral pilgrimage. That was and is the intention of the pope. Meanwhile anticommunist centers in the West are trying to make political capital out of the pontiff's June visit to his native Poland. TRYBUNA LUDU, for example, follows the trail of a Vatican denial of a Western press-spawned rumour that in August 1980 the pope allegedly sent a message the the late Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev concerning the situation in Poland. Though repeatedly and vehemently scotched by the Vatican's press office, the capitalist press stubbornly broadcasts the lie that the Pole was to have intervened on Polish matters.

The bottom line to that falsehood are the attempts by the various special services in the West to disturb the preparations for the visit by feeding the news media with misinformation. The intention of the visit is a religious pilgrimage -- that's clear, pure and simple, says TRYBUNA LUDU, but belligerent Western centers are observing all efforts at giving the journey a political, tendentious hue. Religion to them, observes TRYBUNA LUDU, is only a means to attain a political end.

TRYBUNA LUDU ON HU YAOBANG'S EUROPEAN TRIP

AU191303 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 May 83 p 7

[Commentary signed "Z. Les.": "Hu Yaobang's Trip"]

[Text] The visit of CPC Central Committee General Secretary Hu Yaobang to two socialist countries in southern Europe, Romania, and Yugoslavia, has ended. This visit had started on 5 May. In the summer of 1978, both these countries were on the itinerary of a similar visit by Hua Guofeng, the leader of the Chinese party at the time. And since the leaders of Yugoslavia and Romania have been guests in the PRC in recent years (J. Tito in 1977 and N. Ceausescu in 1982), one can speak about a continuity of meetings at the highest level, and also about the continuation of cooperation in many spheres.

Besides political relations, which was one of the most important topics on the agenda during the interparty talks in Bucharest and Belgrade which have just ended, China is developing quite wide cultural, scientific-technical, and economic cooperation with Romania and Yugoslavia. In the case of Romania, economic cooperation is illustrated by a bilateral trade turnover to the tune of $1 billion annually, while Chinese-Yugoslav trade does not exceed $80 million at the moment and is only expected to rise significantly in the coming years.

Before the commencement of Hu Yaobang's European trip, and also while it was already in progress, political observers were stressing the international importance of both official visits, indicating at the same time the features which distinguish the present visits from those made by his predecessor 5 years ago.

Indeed, a lot has changed in China and the world. Let us observe that this first official foreign trip by CPC Central Committee General Secretary Hu Yaobang since he came to office took place after a series of important events, above all the 12th congress, which forecast many changes in the domestic life of the most populous country in the world and in the PRC's foreign policy.

A statement made by Hu Yaobang during a press conference in Belgrade that China sincerely desires a normalization of relations with the USSR mirrors one of these changes. This suits the interests of both countries and also the interests of peace and stabilization all over the world, the CPC Central Committee general secretary stressed. He maintained, however, that the obstacles which threaten China's sovereignty and security must be removed. In Hu Yaobang's opinion, these obstacles are not many, but are still very serious.

It is difficult of course to confirm the value of assessments of this kind. However, it is a fact that the present rapprochement between China on the one side and Romania and Yugoslavia on the other have taken on special significance in the light of last year's first signs of an improvement of relations along the Beijing-Moscow line and also along the line joining Beijing and other capitals of socialist Europe.

While indicating that Chinese trade with such countries as Poland, Hungary, and the GDR has grown, experts on Chinese politics are also pointing out that after a partial and still insignificant thawing of its stance toward the Soviet Union, China is starting to "make good the arrears" in its relations with East Europe.

REPRESENTATIVE ADDRESSES UN ON NICARAGUA

LD192335 Warsaw PAP in English 1433 GMT 19 May 83

[By PAP correspondent Jerzy Gorski]

[Text] Washington, 19 May (PAP) -- Poland's permanent representative at the United Nations, Ambassador Wlodzimierz Natorf, has taken the floor during the Security Council debate on armed aggression against Nicaragua. He expressed profound concern of the Polish Government over the growth of tension in Central America, especially at the Nicaraguan-Honduran and Nicaraguan-Costa Rican frontiers.

Ambassador Natorf stated that open and covert aggression against Nicaragua might shortly lead to an open conflict with incalculable consequences for that region, as well as for international peace and security.

The speaker pointed out that aggression against Nicaragua, carried out according to well-known patterns, begins with recruitment of mercenaries who are armed and trained by certain U.S. agencies. As a rule this is accompanied by economic and propaganda aggression, and neighbour-countries are being used against the Nicaraguan revolution.

Poland's representative stressed with satisfaction the Nicaraguan Government's readiness to achieve a peaceful solution of the conflict with Honduras by means of negotiations, as well as its willingness to settle the existing controversies between Nicaragua and the United States and Honduras through bilateral negotiations and acceptance of the mission of good offices of the Contadora Group states.

This posture of the Nicaraguan Government, declared Poland's representative, reaffirms that country's readiness to pursue a constructive and peaceful foreign policy.

Poland's representative spoke out in favour of the Security Council passing a resolution that would be a warning to states involved in acts of aggression against Nicaragua. The Security Council resolution should be a basis for opening a dialogue, solving the existing conflict, using the good offices of Central American states, as well as the services of the United Nations.

Poland's representative supported the stand of the non-aligned states on solving the conflict in Central America, sharing their opinion expressed in the Security Council forum that conflict between Nicaragua and the United States has nothing in common with East-West relations and is the result of tensions in Central America bred by economic backwardness, social injustice and foreign interference.

A group on non-aligned states composed of Guyana, Jordan, Malta, Nicaragua, Zaire and Zimbabwe submitted to the Security Council a draft resolution defining ways to solve the conflict.

POLITYKA CRITICAL OF WESTERN PRESS IN WARSAW

LD192343 Warsaw PAP in English 2052 GMT 19 May 83

[Text] Warsaw 19 May -- In its latest issue the Polish weekly POLITYKA accused the Western press and especially Western journalists accredited in Warsaw, of creating unhealthy sensation around Poland's political life as well as of spreading false information about Poland and attempts to manipulate with and speculate about POLITYKA publications.

The article, headlined "Sobersides and Manipulators", said that when the expectations and hopes attached by the West to the alleged trial of strength due to take place on May 8 and [word indistinct] had failed, "Western journalists have thrown themselves with enormous vigour on a new subject -- Andrey Ryzhov's article in NOVOYE VREMYA, which on the wave of nonsensical commentaries was [word indistinct] right [word indistinct] the frames of Polish-Soviet relations."

POLITYKA said that it does not intend to comment the articles on the subject which appeared in the West "because it does not lie in the tradition of our paper to occupy itself with phenomena bordering on absurd.

"Our approach to the text published by NOVOYE VREMYA was already presented in our [word indistinct] 'A. Ryzhov on POLITYKA' a week ago," said the weekly. "We have [word indistinct] so because we believe that it does not lie in the interest of the Polish-Soviet friendship to attach an exaggerated, big significance to such events.

"As one of the supreme goals of our activity...we consider the fostering of Polish-Soviet friendship. POLITYKA's pages give incalculable instances proving that we have such a [words indistinct] other attitude to the Soviet Union," said POLITYKA.

CEAUSESCU, WIFE, OTHERS DEPART FOR TURKEY

AU200823 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0800 GMT 20 May 83

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Elena Ceausescu left Bucharest this morning for Turkey on a state visit at the invitation of Kenan Evren, president of the Republic of Turkey. The head of the Romanian state is accompanied on this visit by Comrades Ion M. Nicolae, deputy prime minister of the government; Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs; Ioan Avram, minister of machine building; and by other officials.

The departure ceremony took place at Otopeni Airport. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu were seen off by members and candidate members of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee, by members of the Central Committee, of the State Council and government, and by leaders from central institutions and civic organizations. (Fenmen Verik), charge d'affaires ad interim of the Republic of Turkey in Bucharest, and embassy members were also present.

Numerous Bucharest residents who had rallied at the airport enthusiastically greeted Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu, warmly wishing them bon voyage and complete success in the visit they are paying to Turkey, a visit that goes down as an important stage in developing relations between the two countries in the interests of the Romanian and Turkish peoples and the cause of peace, security, understanding, and cooperation in the Balkans, in Europe, and throughout the world. At the steps of the airplane a group of Pioneers offered flowers to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu.

FURTHER ON ANDREI TALKS IN U.S., TRADE ISSUE

AU190949/191216 [Editorial Report] Bucharest AGERPRES in English at 0920 GMT on 19 May carries a 250-word report on the talks conducted by Romanian Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei with Secretary of State George Shultz in Washington, which is substantively identical to the item published in the 19 May Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT, page H 1, but adds the following: "The same day, the Romanian minister of foreign affairs had interviews with Senator Henry Jackson and with Arthur Schneier ((spelling as received)), president of the "Appeal for Consciousness" Foundation."

Vienna Domestic Service in German at 1000 GMT on 19 May reports that there is a possibility of progress in the U.S.-Romanian trade dispute and that "according to statements by U.S. Government representatives, the Romanian Government is ready to lift he so-called education tax imposed on people who want to leave the country."

SCINTEIA ON RECENT ROMANIAN-CHINESE SUMMIT

AU131143 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0900 GMT 13 May 83

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES12/5/1983 -- The recent Romanian-Chinese summit meeting is a highly significant event for the steady strengthening of the relations of solidarity and productive manysided cooperation between the two parties, countries and peoples, SCINTEIA of May 12 writes in a commentary on the official visit of friendship the secretary-general of the CC of the Chinese Communist Party, Hu Yaobang, paid to Romania at the invitation of RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu.

The newspaper stresses that the lastingness and profoundness were reiterated during the visit (May 5-10) of the Romanian-Chinese relations of warm and close friendship, just as the powerful development of the productive collaboration and manysided cooperation between the RCP and the CCP, between the two countries and peoples, builders of socialism, the joint will to confer new and broader dimensions on these friendly relations grounded on mutual esteem and respect, to give them a more powerful impetus.

The recent top-level dialogue, the newspaper points out, has once again highlighted that the relations of collaboration and solidarity, the close and frequent contacts between the political forces guiding the two countries' distinies, the Romanian Communist Party and the Chinese Communist Party, are the motive power of the uninterrupted development and deepening of our great friendship. The decisive role in this respect is played by the multiple meetings and talks at the level of the supreme leaderships of the two parties and countries and particularly by the talks Nicolae Ceausescu conducted with Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai over the years, by the productive dialogue he had in friendly China last year with Hu Yaobang, with the other members of the Chinese party and state leadership -- each of the meetings resulting in decisions and resolutions that marked valuable contributions to the development of collaboration in various domains of activity.

SCINTEIA highlights the great importance of the reassertion during the Bucharest dialogue of the joint will to further deepen the collaboration between the two parties, on the unshakable foundation of the ideas and principles of scientific socialism of mutual confidence, esteem and respect, to intensify the contacts and consultations on questions of joint interest, the exchange of experience in socialist construction.

The summit dialogue, the newspaper goes on, also occasioned a thorough exchange of opinions on the current international life and on the communist and working-class movement, when two diametrically opposed tendencies are confronting each other in the international arena: on the one hand, the shows of the imperialist policy of force and dictate, of interference in domestic affairs and violation of other states' independence, of redividing the spheres of influences, of maintaining and aggravating the climate of tension and the conflicts in various parts of the world, of intensifying the arms race, deepening underdevelopment and widening interstate economic gaps; on the other hand, the ever more powerful assertion of the peoples will to put a definite end to the imperialist and colonialist policy, to ensure their free, self-reliant development, to impose a new-type policy of collaboration and mutual respect, of detente, security and peace.

The talks between the two leaders disclosed on all these questions an identity or similarity of standpoints, and it was stressed that under the circumstances the fundamental task of our age is to strengthen the collaboration and unity of the peoples of the advanced forces everywhere in order to curb the dangerous course of events towards confrontation and war, to impose the passage to disarmament, nuclear above all, to induce the settlement of all interstate litigations only by peaceful means, by negotiations, to eradicate the underdevelopment and establish a new international order, based on equality and equity, to ensure every nation's supreme right to life, to freedom, peace and progress.

They stressed during the summit dialogue that an ever more important role in these efforts is incumbent upon the developing countries, the small and medium-sized states, the non-aligned countries that make the overwhelming majority of mankind and are bound to strengthen their collaboration and solidarity, to make a great contribution, along with all anti-imperialist and progressive forces, to the struggle for peace and independence, for the establishment of equitable inter-state relations.

Emphasis was placed particularly on the great role the communist and workers' parties have to play in rallying the peoples' efforts towards a new, democratic policy of international peace and collaboration, the necessity that everything possible should be done for the principles of equality, observance of independence, non-interference in internal affairs, solidarity and mutual comradely assistance to assert themselves ever more powerfully as new principles of relations between parties. One of the conclusions of major significance of the Romanian-Chinese summit dialogue is the two parties' determination to closely collaborate in accomplishing such a new-type collaboration in the revolutionary movement, between the communist and workers' parties, a new-type unity, relying on every party's independence, on the right to establish its policy in harmony with the conditions it carries on activity in, to collaborate based on full equality with the other revolutionary parties, with all democratic and progressive parties, for a world of peoples' peace and freedom, the Bucharest daily concludes.

SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH PRC

AU200955 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0936 GMT 20 May 83

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 20/5/1983 -- Bucharest hosted a session of the subcommission on technical and scientific collaboration between Romania and the People's China, during which the sides looked into the way the decisions taken at the previous session were implemented. They assessed in the positive the results achieved in the expansion and diversifaction of the technical and scientific collaboration between the two countries, particularly in the fields of the machine building, electronics, electrotechnology, chemical industry, metallurgy, agriculture, light industry, transports, physics and informatics. New actions of cooperation in various domains have been agreed upon.

Mihail Florescu, minister secretary of state, the National Council of Science and Technology, and Feng Bohua, deputy minister of chemical industry, chairman for China in the subcommission, signed a protocol of the session.

The Chinese delegation called on Ion Ursu, first deputy chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology.

SOVIET FRIENDSHIP GROUP'S ANNIVERSARY MARKED

AU191012 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0926 GMT 19 May 83

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 19/5/1983 -- Festive meetings were held in Bucharest and in Moscow on Wednesday, May 18, to mark the 25th foundation anniversary of the Soviet-Romanian Friendship Association.

During the friendly meeting in Bucharest, Iosif Tripsa, member of the office of the association's council, secretary of state at the Ministry of Education and Instruction, and E.M. Tyazhelnikov, ambassador of the USSR in Bucharest, pointed to the association's contribution to the development of the friendship and collaboration between the Romanian people and the peoples of the Soviet Union. The multilateral relations were also highlighted between the RCP and CPSU, between Romania and the USSR, just as the broad cooperation between the two countries in various domains, with emphasis on the fact that they have steadily developed on the basis of the principles of equality of rights, independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, reciprocal advantage, and comradely mutual assistance.

At the Moscow meeting, Y.I. Konotop, member of the CC of the CPSU, first secretary of the Moscow Regional Committee of the CPSU, chairman of the association's central board, and Ion Cumpanasu, alternate member of the CC of the RCP, director-general of the Romanian News Agency -- AGERPRES, member of the office of the association's council, referred to the successes of Romania and the USSR in socialist construction, also underlining the ascending course of the Romanian-Soviet relations of friendship and collaboration, the special importance of the understandings reached during the summit interviews for the deepening and diversification of the collaboration between the two parties, countries and peoples.

A decree signed by President Nicolae Ceausescu was read during the meeting, whereby the Soviet-Romanian Friendship Association was conferred the order "The Cultural Merit", First Class, for the contribution made to developing and consolidating the Romanian-Soviet collaboration, on the aanniversary of 25 years since its foundation.

SCINTEIA COMMEMORATES INDEPENDENCE, LIBERATION

AU091252 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1130 GMT 9 May 83

["May 9 -- The Day of Romania's Independence, the Day of Victory Over Fascism" -- AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 9/5/1983 -- Today the Romanian people celebrates 106 years since the proclamation of Romania's state independence (May 9, 1877) and, alongside the peoples of the world, 38 years since the victory over fascism. This coincidence acquires the value of a symbol for the Romanian people standing proof of its will of freedom and dignity, the Romanian press stresses giving much space to these events.

Referring to the proclamation of state independence on May 9, 1877 SCINTEIA points out that throughout their long history the Romanians have proved that the homeland's freedom has always been their loftiest ideal. In the name of this ideal -- the newspaper writes -- they considered that no sacrifice was too great. The accomplishment of May 9, 1877 underlies all the achievements the Romanian people scored later on reverberating more than any other event up to the present days, SCINTEIA writes. In the years of freedom Romania has advanced rapidly on the road of economic and social progress and focused all her energies on speeding up its development rates.

Marking the days of victory over fascism, the Romanian newspapers highlights the importance of the act of August 1944 when, led by the Communists, the Romanian people accomplished the anti-fascist and anit-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation, ushering in a new epoch in the country's history. In the months that followed Romania took part with all her energy and material and human resources in the fight for defeating fascism.

For about nine months almost 540,000 Romanian soldiers and officers heroically fought the fascist enemy, waging heavy battles for chasing the invaders away from the country's territory, for freeing Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Austria. Proving high understanding of its duty to the present and future of the country the Romanian people focused its energy and efforts -- under the slogan of the Communist Party "Everything for the front, everything for victory" -- on the battle for supporting the anti-Hitler war, for defeating the greatest enemy of the peoples' freedom and security -- Hitlerism. Today, when it celebrates the victory day the Romanian people can be proud that it did everything in its power to make that day come sooner, that it was up to its traditions of fight for freedom and independence.

Celebrating the victory day the Romanian people pays deep homage to the peoples of the Soviet Union who bore the brunt of the war and whose troops dealt the decisive blows to the Nazi war machine, to the American, English and French peoples, to the peoples of the other states of the anti-Hitler coalition, to the members of the resistance movements and to the partisans in the countries occupied by the Nazis, to the Chinese people and to the other peoples in Asia that made their contribution to the defeat of the Japanese militarism, to all those that through their fight and sacrifice made possible the great victory over fascism 39 years ago.

Referring to the lessons of the Second World War, lessons that should never be forgotten, SCINTEIA writes: In the 38 years since May 9, 1945, under the direct influence the victory over fascism had on historical development, the life of the European continent, just as of the entire world, has radically changed in many respects, the peoples' will to live and develop freely, to be full masters of their own destinies, of their national wealth and of the entire world, has radically changed in many respects, the peoples' will to live and develop freely, to be full masters of their own destinies, of their national wealth and of the fruits of their work, to order their life in keeping with their own will asserting itself ever more powerfully at present. National independence imposes itself as the main idea of our epoch, as a prerequisite for success in the struggle for each nation's welfare and progress, the peace and security of Europe and of the whole world depending on its ensurance and observance.

Unfortunately, now, when almost four decades have passed since the victorious conclusion of the Second World War, mankind is still faced with serious dangers which do not allow it to have its peace but, on the contrary, imperiously call for increased vigilance and joint efforts on the part of all the peoples, of the progressive and democratic forces everywhere. Various shows of the policy of force and dictate, of interference in the domestic affairs of other states, of maintenance and division of the spheres of influence, the intensification of the arms race and the persistence of numerous conflicts and hotbeds of tension in various parts of the world have led to a considerable deterioration in international relations, enhanced the danger of wars, of a nuclear world war included. Mankind has virtually reached a stage when the unprecedented quantitative and qualitative growth of the arms race, the increase of nuclear weapons in particular, jeopardize the civilization and existence of human society. That is why the fundamental questions of our epoch are the prevention of war and the ensurance of peace.

The fact that the Second World War, just as the First World War, broke out on our continent, that it is here that the largest arsenals, military troops, as well as atomic weapons are concentrated, that this year a passage is to be achieved to the application of the plans of deploying medium-range nuclear missiles, highlights the tremendous importance of the transformation of Europe into a continent of peace and collaboration, as a prerequisite for the fate of world peace. If new missiles were sited the situation on the continent would undoubtedly deteriorate further, the danger of war and destruction would enhance. That is why, this year, a year which is, in many respects, decisive for the (? passage to) disarmament, to nuclear disarmament in the first place, Romania works for everything possible to be done for the cessation of the location of new medium-range missiles, for the withdrawal and destruction of the ones in place, for an effective passage to disarmament. At the same time, Romania declares firmly for the rapid, positive conclusion of the all-European conference, a conference on confidence-building and disarmament in Europe, to measures apt to contribute to the development of collaboration and understanding on the continent, to the ensurance of the continuity of the meetings started in Helsinki.

FURTHER MATERIALS ON VISIT OF HU YAOBANG

Ribicic Brioni Statement

AU181709 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 May 83 p 7

[TANJUG report on statement by Mitja Ribicic, president of the LCY Central Committee, at the conclusion of his talks with Hu Yaobang, CPC general secretary, in Brioni on 15 May]

[Text] New Type of Cooperation

"We are very pleased that Hu Yaobang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, has visited our country at the invitation of the LCY Central Committee Predsidium. This visit represents a continuation of the exchange of views on the experiences and aspirations of our two parties and peoples. The principles determine during President Tito's visit to the PRC in 1977 represent the foundation for a new type of cooperation between Yugoslavia and China and between our two parties. We have noted with satisfaction that since then our relations have constantly followed an ascending line. We are convinced that these talks will also make a new contribution to further promoting our economic cooperation," Mitja Ribicic stressed in his statement.

"The present talks with Comrade Hu Yaobang and his associates represents a new important step in our mutual acquaintance and understanding and a new impulse for a comprehensive development of friendly relations and cooperation.

"I want to emphasize that we value the Chinese comrades' comprehensive interest in building our socialist self-managing society. We have become convinced that the Chinese comrades understand our problems and view with confidence the efforts of our working people to overcome our current temporary difficulties.

"Hearing the reports by the Chinese comrades, we have become convinced that the CPC is very successfully carrying out many reforms and building a socialism with Chinese colors in accordance with the specific conditions of their country and the will and aspirations of their people. It is our belief that the creative building of socialism on the theoretical foundations of Marxism -- not as a dogma, but as a living and creative science -- in such a populous country as the PRC is of great importance for enriching the experience in the further development of socialism as a world process.

"In the talks we exhaustively examined existing international political and economic relations as well as trends in the workers' movement in the world.

"Our views on key world problems are identical or very close."

Responsibility for Peace

"We emphasized that peace and the responsibility for peace in the world are indivisible and that all of us must struggle in all spheres to take definite steps for strengthening peace in the world and against everything that causes a further deterioration in international relations.

"We particularly welcome the desire of the PRC and the CPC to normalize and further develop their relations with small and big countries and parties in the world on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence."

"We are convinced that today the basic and historical task of all communist parties is to wage, not alone but together with other socialist and progressive forces in the world, actions for peace and a joint struggle for strengthening confidence in the world and for more just political and economic relations. We always emphasize the importance of a broad association of communists with other workers' and progressive parties in the struggle for peace and progress in the world. In this connection we bear in mind the fact that no party and no people can attain their goals of development and prosperity if world peace is not safeguarded.

"We particularly value the fact that the PRC very highly regards and respects the efforts of the Nonaligned Movement to preserve peace in the world, to solve other acute world problems, and to promote and create a new international economic system.

"But we want to emphasize especially that lasting and comprehensive peace can only be ensured on the basis of the complete political and increasingly great economic equality of all peoples and countries.

"In conclusion, I wish to express satisfaction over the fact that these talks were held in an atmosphere of complete openness, trust, and sincere friendship.

"And once again, thank you for the invitation; we accept it with pleasure."

Hu Message Following Visit

AU181424 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 May 83 p 7

[Text] Upon leaving Yugoslav territory, Hu Yaobang, secretary general of the CPC Central Committee, sent the following telegram of greetings to Mitja Ribicic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium:

"Upon leaving your wonderful country, I express once again most sincere gratitude for the hospitality shown to us by you and other leaders of the LCY, as well as by the kind and friendly Yugoslav peoples. My visit to your country has been concluded with full success. Our mutual acquaintance has become more profound and our friendship more firm through the fruitful talks we held in a cordial and friendly atmosphere and through our meetings and contacts with Yugoslav comrades. I wish prosperity and well-being to the SFRY and happiness to its peoples. I wish you good health and successful work."

BORBA Commentary

AU181432 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14/15 May 83 p 15

[Vlado Teslic "The Week in the World" column: "Affirmation of the New Relations"]

[Excerpt] What is happening today on the ideological and political front of the workers' and socialist movement shows that ideological models and political entrenchment failed to persevere and that the struggle for peace, independence, security, and cooperation on an equal footing are being reaffirmed as essential elements of the struggle for socialism.

China Factor

This has been manifested through further enrichment of forms and roads of socialism and through transformations of the modern world.

This is also most fully expressed through the Nonaligned Movement which, in the current circumstances, manifests in a most complete way the struggle of various peoples for political and economic emancipation, for independent and free development, for equal and democratic international cooperation, and for peace in the world.

The visit of the highest leader of the Chinese party to our country illustrates all this in a specific and very expressive way. Hu Yaobang expressed this symbolically, laying 88 roses on the grave of "the man of steel" and the great Marxist of our time, as he put it, in the name of 40 million members of the Chinese party which is again on its shining and historical road of transforming the Chinese society.

Some people from outside lightly put the truthful exchange of opinions and experiences between our two parties into the context of various speculations on the pragmatism of both sides. Of course, this is a specific way of observing international relations from a bloc standpoint and an underestimation of the international position of both nonaligned Yugoslavia and big, independent China.

However, those who observe all essential world processes can hardly fail to agree with the assessment that the visit is of invaluable significance for the further advance of the socialist cause and the new relations in the world.

How could anyone fail to observe, among other things, that the Chinese Communists offer full support to nonalignment as a significant political force in the world, and to the revolutionary Marxist theory and practice of self-managment in Yugoslavia, as a "great and new cause." There are many Marxists who have said or are saying this, but there are still very few communist party leaders, especially those in power who are themselves facing the challenges of the further emancipation of the workers class, who can boldly accept processes of democratization of their parties as being a prerequisite for the further emancipation of labor.

The great respect expressed for Tito and his work and especially for his merits in improving and changing international relations reminds us of Tito's great mission in China in 1977 when , contrary to all expectations, he extended his hand to China and, at the same time, opended up new prospects for its historical "opening" and its joining the world peace-making and socialist processes.

PRC TU DELEGATION HOLDS TALKS IN BELGRADE

LD200610 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1446 GMT 19 May 83

[Text] Belgrade, 19 May (TANJUG) -- The delegation of the all-China Federation of Trade Unions led by Han Xiya, member of the Standing Committee, held talks today in the Trade Unions Council of Yugoslavia with Alija Avdic, member of the Council's Presidium, and Djordje Djuric, president of the Federal Committee of the Trade Union Federation of Educational Workers of Yugoslavia. The delegation was especially interested in the trade union tasks in the economic field and in the role of trade unions in the implementation of economic stabilization measures as well as in the system of workers' training for work and self-managment.

The delegation will visit the Socialist Republic of Macedonia and the Socialist Autonomous Provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo.

PRC POST-TELECOMMUNICATIONS DELEGATION VISIT

LD200310 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 19 May 83

[Text] Zagreb, 19 May (TANJUG) -- Milan Rukavina-Sain, president of the Croat Assembly, today received the delegation of the PRC Ministry of Post and Telecommunications led by Li Song Xiao [name as received]. They discussed the further promotion of existing cooperation. During its visit to the Socialist Republic of Croatia which will last several days, the Chinese delegation is working on business arrangements with the work organization Nikola Tesla in Zagreb.

BULGARIAN ACTIONS ON LINGUISTIC ATLAS PROTESTED

LD140952 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1107 GMT 13 May 83

[Text] Skopje, 13 May (TANJUG) -- The Council of the Academies of Sciences and Arts of Yugoslavia has sent a special letter to the Presidium of the Academies of Sciences and Arts of the Soviet Union. The letter presents the Yugoslav attitude, protest, and suggestions that should contribute to eliminating "the problems" that have emerged in the preparations for a genera. Slavonic and Carpathian linguistic atlas, which have arisen because of the Bulgarian scientists' attitudes. The Council of Yugoslav Academies, the letter says, cannot under any circumstances accept the Bulgarian scientists' assertion that there is no Macedonian language.

These are some of the introductory assessments in the commentary in tomorrow's NOVA MAKEDONIJA. Reviewing the history of the project for the "General Slavonic Linguistic Atlas," the 1959 UNESCO program, it says that the preparation of the atlas has been entrusted to the Academy and linguistic centers of the Soviet Union, which is where the project's secretariat is located, and to the academies and linguistic centers of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria. Of the non-Slavonic countries the GDR, Austria, Italy, Hungary, and Romania are participating in the work. The project embraces 900 areas of habitation (language "positions" on Slavonic linguistic territory), of which 120 are Serbo-Croat, Slovene, and Macedonian. The Macedonian language is represented by 24 positions, of which 15 are in Macedonia, one in Albania, and three in Greece (Aegean Macedonia).

Linking science with political exigencies, the Bulgarian scientists have demanded, following their initial consent, that the Macedonian language positions be changed into "Bulgarian," first in Pirin Macedonia and then in Aegean Macedonia. Such attitudes are in the spirit of the constant appropriation of everything Macedonian and thus also of negating the Macedonian identity.

In the years of preparations for this project there have been a series of disputes and even forgeries. The document, agreed to by representatives of all the states, was changed on the demand of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences at the last moment. The change was carried out by the chairman of the commission in agreement with the Institute for the Russian Language of the Soviet Academy. In this way a crude forgery was made and the international agreement violated, to which the scientists of all the states participating in the project reacted strongly.

The atmosphere in preparing the project has finally been exacerbated to such an extent that the Bulgarian representatives presented an ultimatum:

Either accept the Bulgarian attitudes, or Bulgaria will cease to cooperate. At Yugoslavia's demand all the delegations were asked to state their views. They totally rejected the Bulgarian demands. In this connection scientists from Poland and the GDR reacted particularly severely by denouncing the Bulgarian scientists.

Official activities in preparing this atlas have practically ceased since then. Recently the representatives of the Institute of Slavonic and Balkan Studies of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and of the Institute for Russian Language sent a letter to the Macedonian Academy of Sciences offering a "compromise" which would virtually mean the acceptance of Bulgarian standpoints. This was done, NOVA MAKEDONIJA stresses, without consultation with other participants in the project.

Yugoslav scientists, the commentary says in conclusion, have unanimously rejected this latest encroachment on Macedonian linguistic independence. The attempt to force a deviation from the Yugoslav attitude represents a crude attack on Yugoslav fellowship. The only answer is to withdraw from the atlas all linguistic material on Slavonic languages on SFRY territory. This is a move that the Yugoslav scientists want least of all, but it would be the ultimate answer to impudent forgeries and blackmail by the Bulgarian side, NOVA MAKEDONIJA stresses.

PLANINC RECEIVES EEC'S NATALI; TALKS HELD

LD191526 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1319 GMT 19 May 83

[Text] Belgrade, May 19 (TANJUG) -- Yugoslav Premier Milka Planinc today (Thursday) received Vice-President of the Commission of European Communities Lorenzo Natali. They discussed the future development of the EEC Mediterranean policy in favour of its greater cooperation with countries of the region. The forthcoming enlargement of the EEC by Spain's and Portugal's joining the community was especially spoken of and effects which could result from it for the future cooperation between Yugoslavia and the EEC were pointed to.

The two sides confirmed readiness to invest additional efforts in the promotion of relations between Yugoslavia and the EEC and to achieve firmer and more lasting foundations on which bilateral cooperation would develop on a long-term basis.

Natali underlined the satisfaction of the Commission with the recent visit of the Yugoslav premier to the EEC in Brussels and with fruitful talks held on that occasion.

MOJSOV EXAMINES WORLD SITUATION, ECONOMIC CRISIS

LD191734 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0930 GMT 19 May 83

[Text] Skopjhe, 19 May (TANJUG) -- The world is currently facing a parallel escalation of tension in all significant areas of international relations: in relations between the great powers; in the flaring up of hotbeds of crisis, conflicts, and local wars; in relations between developing countries and the developed part of the world; in the worldwide economic situation; and in the escalation between the blocs and in the latters' efforts to maintain or increase their influence in various crises and in various parts of the world. Consequently, we face an escalation of tension that is becoming increasingly dangerous at the very time when all the channels of international communication are also in a state of crisis.

This was stated by Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Lazar Mojsov in an interview with Skopje television editor Slobadan Trajkovski within the framework of the foreign affairs program "Window on the World" which Skopje Radio will broadcast tonight.

According to Mojsov, the crisis in international communication is reflected in the fact that even negotiations between the great powers are making no progress and that the United Nations and other international organizations are even less able to do anything to halt or alleviate various aggressive and conflict situations and wars. Regional organizations are also less able to do anything of the sort. At the same time, Mojsov stressed, the crisis in international relations is increasingly intensifying in the economic field as well and one can say that storm winds are blowing from every quarter. What these storm winds will sweep away will become known during the next months when tension will reach a climax and when we shall be able to see whether the period ahead is a long period of such a high degree of tension that we shall have to become accustomed to it and find an adequate answer as regards the defense of our independence, or a period during which there will be a change and the front of the dark clouds on the horizon will lift and tension will be reduced successfully.

Speaking in this connection with the place and role of nonaligned countries, Lazar Mojsov said that the seventh summit in New Delhi, the largest in the history of the Nonaligned Movement, undoubtedly represented a great success, especially because it was held at the height of the crisis of international organizations ranging from the United Nations to regional international organizations -- a crisis to which the Nonaligned Movement itself might have succumbed. The very fact that the nonaligned leaders met in such a gloomy world atmosphere and in such large numbers not only reflects their desire to make a contribution to the settling of a number of world problems which are due for settlement, but proves the vitality of the Nonaligned Movement which, despite all the prophets of doom, is constantly growing stronger and proving that it represents an active international factor capable of contributing to the efforts to overcome the present crisis situation.

Speaking about the specific actions of the nonaligned in the international field, Mojsov particularly stressed the dedication of the presiding figure in the Nonaligned Movement, Indira Gandhi, and her message to the world's leaders calling for a dialogue aimed at surmounting confrontations in international relations. Indira Gandhi, Mojsov said, began a concrete initiative aimed at bringing the world's leaders together at the forthcoming 38th session of the UN general Assembly in New York so that, through personal contact, they could surmount certain psychological and political barriers which divide the world today and create all the necessary conditions for another "flaring up" of the cold war. If Indira's message, Mojsov said, leads only to a meeting between Reagan and Andropov, this alone would represent a success in the direction of overcoming the differences that exist in relations between these two great powers. Indira Gandhi also sent a message to belligerents in the tragic Iraq-Iran conflict. Agreement was reached to send a message to the leaders of the developed countries primarily in connection with the problems caused by the present economic situation in the world and, in particular, in relations between developed and developing countries. The aim of this message is to find a common language in overcoming the front of tension which continues to grow wider, especially with regard to the crisis in the international economic and financial system in which the main price is paid by the developing countries, but now, for the first time, also by the industrial and rich countries.

The Security Council meeting of ministers from 30 nonaligned countries which will raise the question of the independence of Namibia was mentioned as a particularly significant action by Lazar Mojsov.

The aim of this action, according to Mojsov, is to exert pressure on all those international factors which prevent the liquidation of this last stronghold of colonialism in Africa.

Speaking about the global talks on ways of overcoming economic crises in the world, which face very great obstacles, Lazar Mojsov dwelled particularly on the meeting of the 24 OECD countries. Commenting on the communique issued by this organization's ministerial conference, the federal secretary for foreign affairs stressed that it contains fresh attitudes conducive to the settling of the same problems and concerns which were expressed in New Delhi and Buenos Aires at the meeting of the group of 77 developing countries. According to him, efforts to improve the dialogue are welcome and the developing countries' resolve to have a dialogue is also welcome. Whether this will represent a general trend is something that one cannot yet tell, because the most highly developed among these 24 OECD countries are to meet in Williamsburg shortly. At their meeting they will discuss international problems and the major question of how the host, the United States, should react to the proposals made in Buenos Aires by the developing countries.

According to Mojsov, the sixth UNCTAD conference in Belgrade in June, which will be attended by over 166 delegations from all parts of the world, will represent a test with regard to actions taken in the economic sector of the international tension sphere, where numerous efforts are being made to find a way out of the crisis and where the common interests of all the factors of this crisis are to be objectively found. There are no new revolutionary initiatives on the agenda of the UNCTAD meeting in Belgrade. There are no proposals for any new international institutions to make a breakthrough in the present grave economic situation. However, the meeting is important because it will provide a barometer for the assessment of the further trends in the world economic crisis and of the behavior of the main factors in this crisis. This is why Yugoslavia and the nonaligned expect the sixth UNCTAD conference to become a significant meeting which should tell us whether we are on the way out of the crisis or will encounter even greater difficulties in world relations.

LCY PRESIDIUM DELEGATION HOLDS TALKS IN DAMASCUS

LD181308 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1613 GMT 18 May 83

[Text] Damascus, 18 May (TANJUG) -- A delegation of the LCY Central Committee Presidium with Petar Matic, Presidium member, at its head, which has been in Damascus since yesterday, held talks today at the national headquarters of the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party with Muhammad Salih Hurmasi, member of the National Command.

The Yugoslav party delegation will continue talks with prominent personalities of the Syrian party today and tomorrow.

SAWPY PRESIDIUM DISCUSSES MEDIA'S WORK, PROGRAMS

AU191700 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 19 May 83

[Summary] At its session today, the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium discussed the work of the public media sponsored by the SAWPY Federal Conference in 1982 and their programmatic orientation for 1983. Momcilo Boskovic and Mirjana Trajkovic report on the session:

"Last year, the public media sponsored by the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance operated under very difficult socioeconomic and political conditions. However, they successfully fulfilled their tasks and contributed to better information for our own and the world public, Muhamed Berberovic, president of the section for information and public opinion, pointed out in his introductory report at the session. The numerous analyses made by the individual editorial offices show that all factors in public media must make further greater, more effectively organized, and more systematic efforts to ensure a more resolute and timely reaction with measured statements and sounder arguments against certain phenomena and events and especially against those phenomena and events of an antisocialist and antiself-managing nature."

Kiro Hadzivasilev pointed out during the discussion that it is not enough for the SAWPY section for information and public opinion to discuss only the general issues of public information. "In addition to that, we should have a separate organizational unit which will concern itself with the media sponsored by the SAWPY Federal Conference, he said." According to the introductory report and several statements made during the discussion, last year most of the media faced a number of difficulties mainly concerning their financial-material position and their cadres. The regular supply of newsprint was a special problem. In this connection it was stated at the session that all necessary measures should be taken to prevent undesirable consequences, such as a reduction in newspaper circulation and in programs, which would entail a high political price especially in our propaganda to the world.

"Speaking during the discussion, Bozo Kovac, director of the newspaper BORBA, stressed that as a result of the constantly increasing costs and reduced grants from the federal budget, in the last 3 years the newspaper's financial situation has become increasingly difficult and that this year this situation threatens to jeopardize even the basic function of this organ. Zdravko Pecar, director of Radio Yugoslavia, pleaded that necessary resources be provided to ensure the normal operations of this radio station. The station's poor audibility is the biggest problem of Radio Yugoslavia. At the same time, its modernization has been jeopardized by a shortage of funds. Members of the Presidium supported the proposal by Velizar Skerovic to request that the Yugoslav Assembly consider the possibility of ensuring the necessary funds -- that is, one billion old dinars, to finance the further buildup of Radio Yugoslavia."

The Presidium concluded that an analysis of the ideological situation in the media sponsored by the Federal Conference should be prepared and subsequently submitted first to the Presidium and then to the Federal Conference. Marin Cetinic, president of the Federal Conference, proposed that the republics and provinces and the federal organs sign a social accord on solving the financial problems of the media involved in a principled manner.

"And let us also report that Andrija Markovic and Vaso Milic, delegates of Vojvodina, requested a discussion about the responsibility of Zdravko Pecar, director of Radio Yugoslavia. This involves the views expressed by Pecar in the newspaper INTERVJU in connection with the trial of journalist Ranka Cicak [sentenced to a 2 and 1/2 year prison term in Sremska Mitrovica in December 1982]. The view prevailed at the session that Zdravko Pecar's views should not be discussed at today's session but that they should be considered by the Council of Radio Yugoslavia which should then inform the Federal Conference Presidium of the Socialist Alliance."